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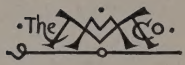

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THE PRINCIPLES OF GREEK ART

BY

PERCY GARDNER, LITT.D.
LINCOLN AND MERTON PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

WITHDRAWN

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PREFACE

In 1905 I published a little work called *A Grammar of Greek Art*, intended to set forth the leading principles to be traced in the surviving monuments of ancient Hellas, architecture, sculpture, and painting. The present book is an enlargement of the *Grammar*. Chapters I–XII, XVIII, XXI have been mostly rewritten, IV and XI being quite new. The other chapters have been revised and corrected. Twenty-five new illustrations are added, and the bulk of the book increased by about a third. The title is altered from *Grammar* to *Principles*, as I found that the former title was misunderstood.

At present, as every one knows, Greek studies and the Greek element in education are falling back, and there is a danger of the immense value of the legacy of Hellas to the modern world being underrated. Against this tendency I am anxious to contend, side by side with my friends the lovers of Greek literature, and indeed with all humanists in every country.

The illustrations in the text are of a varied character. Each of them was chosen, not for its own sake, but to illustrate some principle. I have had to borrow from many sources; in every case in which it seemed necessary to ask for permission to copy, such permission was readily and kindly granted. My sister, Miss Alice Gardner, has kindly supplied the index.

PERCY GARDNER.

Oxford,
September, 1913.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

PAGE

THE GRAMMAR OF GREEK ART 1

Greek art a special language: it has an accidence and a syntax or philosophy, 1. The subject not a search into origins, but into character and development, 3. These specifically Greek, whether derived from Minoan or Oriental elements, 4. Parallel to Greek literature, 6. Sources of our knowledge; ancient writers, inscriptions, and especially extant monuments, 8. Greek original statues and copies, 10. Scarcity of paintings, 11. Coins and gems, 11.

CHAPTER II

ANCIENT CRITICS ON ART 13

Socrates as reported in *Memorabilia:* interviews with Parrhasius and Cleiton, 13. Views of Plato, 16. Aristotle on plastic art, 17. Phrases in Aristotle's *Poetics*, symmetry, rhythm, ethos, pathos, 20. Later writers, Pasiteles, 26; Varro, Pliny, Cicero, 27; Pausanias, 28; Lucian, 30.

CHAPTER III

THE GREEK TEMPLE 33

Influence of country and race, 33. Purpose of the temple, 35. Question of proportions, 38. Entasis, 39. Rationality of plan, 40. Decoration confined to otiose parts, 41. Its simplicity, 44. False departures in decoration, 44. Colouring, 47. Rhetorical tendency, 48. Satisfaction to religious needs, 49.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSE AND THE TOMB 51

Secular buildings, 51. Walls and theatres, 52. Dwelling houses, 53. The tomb: similarity to temple, 53. Finds at Mycenae, 56. Sepulchral sculpture, 57. Spartan class, 57. North Greek horse-

PAGE

man class, 59. Archaic tombs at Athens, 60. Growing splendour in fifth and fourth centuries, 62. Demetrius Phalereus, 62. The stele and the temple-tomb, 63. Family groups, 65. The oil flask and the water pot, 67. Painted scenes, 68. Comparison with literature, 69; and with modern cemeteries, 70.

CHAPTER V

FORMATION OF ARTISTIC TYPES 72

Only decorative elements borrowed by Greeks, 72. Causes of excellence of Greek art, 74; athletic habits, 75; the accumulation of beauty, 79; synthesis of beauties, 80. Value of appreciation of beauty, 80.

CHAPTER VI

THE TYPES OF THE GODS 83

Relation of religions to art, 83. Various strains in Greek religion, 84. Naturalist origins of religion, 86. Coöperation of the artists, 86. Relation of deities to cities, 87. National elements, 88. Formation of artistic pantheon, 89. Symbolic contrasted with anthropomorphic art, 90. Incorporation of attributes in type, 92. Who made the types of deities? 95. Heroes in art, 95.

CHAPTER VII

FRONTALITY IN GREEK ART 98

Did painting precede sculpture? 98. Search into origins and search into character, 98. Lange's principle of frontality in early art, 99. Two-plane scheme of representation, 102. Basis of law of frontality, 104. Humanist and subjective character of art, 107. Mistakes through not recognizing this, 108.

CHAPTER VIII

SCULPTURE: MATERIAL, SPACE AND COLOURING 110

Relations to material, 110. Sculpture in wood, 110. Sculpture in bronze, 111. Sculpture in marble, 113. Decorative and substantive art, 114. The temple, 117. The pediment, 118. The metope, 124. The frieze, 125. Isocephalism, 129. Colouring of sculpture, 130.

CHAPTER IX

PAGE
THE PROGRESS OF SCULPTURE 134

It was man that especially interested the Greeks, 134. Improvements in technique, 135. Line of attainment, 138. Rendering of head, 138. Great change in the third century: study of anatomy, 143.

CHAPTER X

DRESS AND DRAPERY 147

Is the dress of sculpture that actually worn? 147. Adherence to nature, 148. Ionic dress, 149. Doric dress, 152. Complication of later dress, 158. Artistic use of dress, 160. Dress becomes drapery, 164.

CHAPTER XI

PORTRAIT SCULPTURE 165

Immense number of Greek portraits, 165. Difficulty of the subject, 166. Comparison with Plutarch's *Lives*, 168. Archaic age, 169. Fifth century portraits, 170. Ideal element, 171. Fourth century idealism, 175. Portraits of women, 177. Change in third century, 178.

CHAPTER XII

GREEK PAINTING 181

Scantiness of materials: frescoes and vases, 181. Pliny on painting, 182. Painting in the later sixth century, 184. Period of Polygnotus, 186. His perspective, 187. His method of allusion, 188. Relations of vase-painting to frescoes, 191. Colours of Polygnotus, 203. Later masters, 203. Existing remains, 204. Painting precedes sculpture, 209.

CHAPTER XIII

CLASSES OF VASES 211

Minoan age, 211. Geometric style, 212. Early black-figured, 213. Later black-figured, 214. Red-figured, 215. White-ground vases, 217. Red-figured, late, 218. Forms, 218.

CHAPTER XIV

VASES: SPACE, BALANCE, PERSPECTIVE 221

Vases as wholes, 221. Conditions of space, 222. The *horror vacui*, 223. Löwy's rules in archaic drawing, 225. Balance and

PAGE

symmetry, 226. Relation of designs to forms of vases, 228. Balance in schemes, 231. Relation of designs on a vase one to another, 232. Perspective, 235.

CHAPTER XV

VASES: ARTISTIC TRADITION 239

Use of fixed schemes, 239. Parallel to Homeric phrases, 242. Names added in schemes, 243. Embodiment of myths in art, 245. Chorus scheme, 248. Messenger scheme, 249. History of the representations of the mission of Triptolemus, 251. Contamination, 255. Locality, 258. Continuous narration, 259. Representations of daily life, 261.

CHAPTER XVI

LITERATURE AND PAINTING: THE EPIC 263

Contrast with modern illustration, 263. Art and myth run parallel, 265. Influence of Homer on myth, 266. Influence of literature on choice of subject, 268; on variation of story, 269; on special treatment, 269. Homeric subjects: the abduction of Briseis, 271; the combat of Diomedes and Aeneas, 275; the horses of Rhesus, 276; Odysseus and the Cyclops, 279; the Sirens, 281. Dionysus and the Pirates, 283.

CHAPTER XVII

LITERATURE AND PAINTING CONTINUED: LYRIC AND DRAMATIC POETRY 284

Lyric poetry and art, 284. Tragedy: subjects, 286; manner of treatment, 286. No direct influence of the stage, 288. Vases of lower Italy and the Euripidean stage, 290. Wall-paintings of Pompeii, 293. Roman sarcophagi, 295.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ART-HISTORY OF A MYTH: THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS . . . 297

Early period: literature of the myth, 298. Early vases, 298. Vases of the great painters, 300. Period after B.C. 450: literature, 302. Vase-paintings, 304. Italian vases, 307. Pompeian paintings, 308. Independent course taken by art, 309.

CHAPTER XIX

PAGE

ART IN RELATION TO HISTORY 310

Representations of actual events in art, 310. Ideal representation of history: the Parthenon, 313. Dedications at Delphi, 320. Vase-paintings, 321.

CHAPTER XX

COINS IN RELATION TO HISTORY 324

Historic character of coins, 324. Methods of connecting coins with history, 327. Coins of fixed date, 328. The psychology of coins, 331. Reproduction of works of sculpture, 333.

CHAPTER XXI

NATURALISM AND IDEALISM IN GREEK ART 335

Senses and intellect in Greek art, 335. Realism and idealism, 336. The Ionian spirit, 337. Humanism in Attic art, 337. Painting and sculpture not merely mimetic, 339. The study of nature, 340. Human interpretation, 341. Impressionism, 342. Greek art both humanist and ideal, 343. Social idealism, 345. Haydon on the sculpture of the Parthenon, 347.

INDEX 349

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

NUMBER		PAGE
1.	Plan of the Parthenon	36
	Dörpfeld in *Athen. Mittheil*, 1881, pl. XII.	
2.	Lines of basis of Parthenon	40
	E. A. Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 270.	
3.	Anatomy of the Parthenon	42
	Br. Mus. Cat. Sculpture, pl. IV.	
4.	Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns	46
	Uhde, *Architekturformen*.	
	a. Temple at Selinus. *b*. Erechtheum. *c*. Lysicrates monument.	
5.	Spartan hero and wife	58
	P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, pl. II.	
6.	Horseman relief: British Museum	59
	Ibid. p. 96.	
7.	Reclining hero, with worshipper (Athens)	60
	From a cast.	
8.	Tombstone: Tynnias seated (Athens)	64
	P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs*, pl. III.	
9.	Tombstone: family group (Athens)	65
	Ibid. pl. XXIII.	
10.	Water-vessel on tombstone (Athens)	67
	Ibid. pl. IV.	
11.	Artemis: relief from Olympia	90
	From a cast.	
12.	Artemis: coin of Ephesus	91
	From a cast.	
13.	Artemis of Versailles	93
14.	Apollo and Artemis: vase at Berlin	96
	Wiener Vorlegebl., 1888, pl. VIII.	
15.	Unfinished statue: Athens	101
	Journ. Hell. Stud., XI., p. 130.	
16.	Horse: Vase at Boulogne	102
	Löwy, *Naturwiedergabe*, p. 44.	
17.	Metope of Selinus	103
18.	Nike of Delos, restored	104
19.	Discobolus of Myron, restored	105
	Munich reconstruction.	

NUMBER PAGE

20. Female figure, Olympia 112
From a cast.
21. Figure from Polledrara: British Museum 112
22. Kylix at Berlin 113
Gerhard, *Coupes Grecques et Étrusques*, XII.
23. Bronze reliefs: Ashmolean Museum 116
24 *a*. Restoration of E. Pediment, Olympia 120
Treu, *Jahrbuch des arch. Inst.*, 1888.
24 *b*. Restoration of W. Pediment, Olympia 120
Treu, *Jahrbuch*, 1888.
25. Diagram of pediment 121
26. Corners of E. Pediment, Parthenon 123
27. Two metopes, Olympia 126
Restorations by G. Treu.
28. From the Mausoleum frieze 128
29. Argive Diadumenus: British Museum 136
30. Attic Diadumenus: British Museum 137
31. Head of Doryphorus: Naples 139
32. Head of Hermes of Praxiteles 140
33. Diagrams of male and female eye 141
Cecil Smith in *Cat. Vases*, III., 4.
34. Stele from Lamprika, Athens 145
35. Female figure by Antenor: Athens 151
Restored by Studniczka, *Jahrbuch des arch. Inst.*, II., 141.
36. Diagram of the Doric chiton 153
Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 53.
37. Bronze girl from Herculaneum 154
38. Diagram of himation 156
Gardner and Jevons, *Manual*, p. 55.
39. Male figure wearing himation: amphora 157
Ashmolean Museum, *Cat.*, fig. 25.
40. Dress of girls: Attic krater 158
Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 17.
41. Aphrodite of Fréjus: Louvre 162
42. Athena of Myron: Frankfort 162
43. Head and hand holding discus: Athens 169
44. Portrait of Pericles: British Museum 170
45. Head of Euripides 173
46. Head of Antisthenes: Vatican 174
47. Alexander as a youth: Munich 176
48. Demosthenes: Vatican 179
49. Negro, from a vase, Ashmolean Museum 184
50. Warrior on a tablet from Athens 185
Ephemeris, 1887, pl. VI.

NUMBER PAGE

51 *a*. The Argonauts: Vase from Orvieto 190
Journ. Hell. Stud., X., p. 118.

51 *b*. The Niobids: Vase from Orvieto 191
Ibid.

52. Theseus and Poseidon: Vase at Bologna 195
Journ. Hell. Stud., XVIII., p. 277.

53. Odysseus shooting the Suitors: Vase from Corneto . . . 197
Mon. dell. Inst., IX., 53.

54 *a*. Menelaus and Helen: Attic vase 199
Löwy, *Wiener Studien*, 1912, p. 284.

54 *b*. Menelaus and Helen: Metopes of Parthenon 200
Ibid.

55. Attic worthies: Vase from Corneto 201
Wiener Vorlegebl., A. 5.

56. Ivory tablet from the Crimea 204
Antiq. du Bosphore Cim., pl. 79.

57. Battle of Issus: Pompeian Mosaic 208

58. Geometric vase in Ashmolean Museum 212
Catalogue, p. 2.

59. Archaic pyxis: British Museum 213
Journ. Hell. Stud., V., p. 176.

60. White lekythos from Athens: Ashmolean Museum . . . 217
Catalogue, p. 21.

61. Forms of Greek vases 219

62. Attic kylix: Ashmolean Museum 219
Catalogue, p. 15.

63. Amphora: Ashmolean Museum 220
Catalogue, p. 25.

64. Plate from Rhodes 223
Musée Napoleon III., pl. III.

65. Spartan Vase 224
Arch. Zeitung, 1882; pl. XII., 2.

66. Kylix by Hiero: Berlin 225
Wiener Vorlegebl., A. 4.

67. Bellerophon: Melian terra-cotta 228
Millingen, *Anc. Uned. Mon.*, II., pl. 3.

68. Nolan Amphora: Ashmolean Museum 229
Catalogue, p. 24.

69. Attic lekythos: Ashmolean Museum 229
Catalogue, p. 33.

70. Youth standing: Amphora. Ashmolean Museum . . . 230
Catalogue, p. 24.

71. Female figure: Kylix. Ashmolean Museum 231
Catalogue, p. 29.

NUMBER PAGE

72. Satyr: Kylix in British Museum 231
Catalogue III., pl. VI.

73. Two figures: Kylix. British Museum 232
Catalogue III., pl. VI.

74. Amphora in Ashmolean Museum 232
Catalogue, p. 6.

75. Amphora at Munich 233
Lau, *Die griech. Vasen.*, pl. XXIV.

76. Amphora in Ashmolean Museum 233
Catalogue, p. 11.

77. Eos and Tithonus: Vase in Ashmolean Museum 234
Journ. Hell. Stud., XIII., p. 137.

78. Seizure of Thetis: Vase in the British Museum 236
From Rhodes. From a drawing.

79. Herakles and lion: Vase in the British Museum 240
Catalogue II., p. 13.

80. Herakles and Triton. British Museum 241
Ibid., p. 21.

81. Herakles with boar. British Museum 242
Ibid., p. 15.

82. Theseus and the Minotaur: Vase in the Ashmolean Museum . 243
Catalogue, p. 29.

83. Achilles arming: plate at Athens 247
Heydemann, *Griech. Vasenb.*, pl. VI.

84 *a*. Seizure of Thetis: Kylix by Hiero 248
Wiener Vorlegebl., A. 1.

84 *b*. Reverse of the same vase 249

85. Triptolemus: Vase in Vatican 251
Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.*, pl. XV., 6.

86. Triptolemus: Vase by Hiero 252
Ibid., fig. 22 *a*.

87. Triptolemus: red-figured vase 253
Ibid., fig. 31.

88. Triptolemus: Vase of Tarentum 254
Ibid., pl. XVI., 13.

89. Sleep and death: Vase of Euphronius 256
Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 272.

90. Oedipus and Sphinx: Kylix 257
Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pl. 73.

91. Sunrise: Vase in British Museum 260
Catalogue III., p. 284.

92. Abduction of Briseis: Vase of Hiero 270
Mon. d. Inst., VI., 19.

NUMBER PAGE

93. Abduction of Briseis: Vase in British Museum 274
Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pl. 41.

94. Combat of Diomedes and Aeneas: Vase in British Museum . 275
Journal of Philology, XII., p. 215.

95. The horses of Rhesus: Vase at Berlin 277
Gerhard, *Coupes de Berlin*, pl. K.

96. The horses of Rhesus 278
Wiener Vorlegebl., C., 3.

97. Odysseus and the Cyclops: Attic Vase 280
Gazette Archéol., 1887, pl. I.

98. Odysseus and the Sirens: Vase in British Museum . . . 282
Mon. d. Inst., I., 8.

99. Orestes at Delphi: Vase at St. Petersburg 291
Comptes rendus, 1863, pl. VI.

100. Orestes in Tauris: Vase of Ruvo 294
Mon. d. Inst., VIII., 22.

101. Judgment of Paris: Archaic vase 299
Journ. Hell. Stud., pl. LXX.

102. Judgment of Paris: Vase of Hiero 301
Wiener Vorlegebl., A. 5.

103. Judgment of Paris: Deities in chariots 302
Dumont, *Vases Peints*, pl. X.

104. Judgment of Paris: Vase at Berlin 303
Catalogue, 2536.

105. Judgment of Paris: Goddesses preparing 305
Mon. d. Inst., IV., 18.

106. Judgment of Paris: order broken up 306
Coll. Sabouroff, pl. 61.

107. Sarcophagus from Sidon 312
Hamdy and Reinach, *Nécropole royale à Sidon*, pl. 25.

108. The Persians: Vase of Tarentum 322
Mon. d. Inst., IX., 51.

109. Damareteion coin 329

110. Dion coin 329

111. Coin of Samos 330

112. Coin of Ephesus 330

PRINCIPLES OF GREEK ART

CHAPTER I

THE GRAMMAR OF GREEK ART

JUST as the poetry and prose of the Greeks is expressed in a particular language, the words and the grammar of which must be studied by those who would understand the literature, so works of Greek painting and sculpture also are composed in what may be called a particular artistic language.[1] The words of that language are the strokes of the brush and the chisel; but these are put together in order to embody Greek ideas in ways which are distinctive and not like those adopted by any other people; certainly unlike those of modern art. The object of the present work is to set forth, as simply and directly as possible, what these ways are; to define, in fact, the principles of Greek art, and so render more intelligible the works of painting and sculpture which have come down to us from Hellenic antiquity.

Although the problem before us is one which can only be solved by a close and long-continued examination of the monuments of Greek art, yet it is at bottom psychological. We have to determine the laws according to which the mind, the taste, the hand, of the artist worked. We are speaking of a generalized or ideal process. It will not, of course, be supposed that a sculptor or painter, before he set about his work, consciously or deliberately thought out the lines on which he should pro-

[1] Welcker calls it a Zeichensprache, *Alte Denkmäler*, III, p. xii.

ceed. He went by the traditions of the craft, the customs of a school. But his unconscious process can be brought out in regular and methodical form; and this is what I propose to do. In precisely the same way those who have never learned grammar may speak their own language grammatically enough. Unconsciously they follow laws of usage which have been laid down by the practice of generations. The grammarian can discover and set forth those laws, the statement of which, though less necessary to those who speak their mother tongue, is quite indispensable to those who have to learn the language as one foreign to them.

To the accidence of a language we may compare the simple laws of relation to material, of relation to space, of balance and proportion, which are manifested in the work of a Greek artist. To the syntax of a language we may compare the relation of scene to scene, of picture to myth and to literature, of sculpture and coin to history. And art as a whole we may place beside the poetry and philosophy of Greece as a parallel manifestation of the genius of the race, in some directions an even clearer and more illuminating manifestation.

We start from the purpose of the Greek artist to produce a statue, or to paint a scene of Greek mythology. Whence this purpose came, we cannot always see. It may have come, at the lowest, from a commercial demand, or from desire to exercise talent, or from a wish to honour the gods. This purpose works from within outward, and meets with controlling conditions, according to which its outward working is directed, conditions partly belonging to the materials employed, partly to the artistic customs and traditions of the age, partly to the personality of the artist himself, and partly to the city or the race to which he belongs.

In its higher branches grammar touches psychology, and I shall have to speak of the psychology and the philosophy of art. Certainly I do not wish to limit myself to such formal

and superficial rules as make up the bulk of our grammars. In fact, some parts of the present work may be said to lie between a psychology and a grammar. The reason of this is not far to seek; and I must briefly set it forth.

If the creations of the Greek painter and sculptor had come down to us in full abundance and in their original beauty, the philosophy and the grammar of the subject would have lain apart, the first being primarily illustrated from those great works of art which fully embody the Greek character, the second from simple and commonplace efforts of the artists. But what we possess is but a remnant of the ancient splendour. In the case of architecture and sculpture, enough remains to show us what the Greeks could do: in the case of painting we have only work of a comparatively poor or hasty character. It is therefore natural in dealing with sculpture to proceed in a more philosophical way, and in dealing with painting, to proceed on the humbler lines of grammar. Perhaps by following this course I have somewhat injured the unity of this work; but it does not appear that much would have been gained if I had divided it in two. The reader must always remember that in criticising sculpture we are at a higher level than in criticising vase-painting, and he must not expect the impossible.

The study of an evolution among surrounding and limiting conditions is the complement, and in many ways the opposite, to that search for origins which in our Darwinian age attracts so much intelligence. Numberless investigators are now occupied in tracing all the ways of civilization to their origins, or at least to the earliest form of them which can be discovered. This search is, of course, of the greatest value, quite essential to all scientific history, and throwing rays of light over some of the darkest fields. Without reaching the origin of a custom in art, in religion, in institutions, we can never be sure that we have rightly apprehended it. But at the same time it

is necessary to guard oneself against a prevalent delusion, the fancy that when the origin of any phase of human life is discovered, that phase is explained and understood. It is a great thing to reach the railway station from which one sets out on a journey, but starting from that station one may go many ways and travel with various purposes. What is really most important and interesting in the civilization of a race is not the foundations, which are probably very much like those whence other races make their start, but what the race adds of its own, the way in which the national ideas are embodied. What is most interesting in the English character is that in which they differ from other peoples. That which is really important in Jewish or in Greek religion is not the mere myth which belongs to all peoples at a certain stage of civilization, nor the primitive beliefs in ghosts and agricultural superstitions, but what the Jews and the Greeks respectively add to the common stock of religion, as they emerge into a higher civilization.

In the case of Greek art also we may say that it is interesting in proportion as it is really Greek. Of late years there has been carried on an unwearied search into the products of prehistoric Greece, the civilization of the peoples now called Minoan and Mycenaean. The Homeric enthusiasm of Schliemann first led to the discovery at Ilium, Mycenae and Tiryns of walls, palaces and graves, belonging to the peoples who lived in Greece long before Greece emerges into the light of history. To the patience and the science of two admirable archaeologists, Dr. Dörpfeld and Sir Arthur Evans, we owe both a vast extension of the field of prehistoric exploration, and a reasoned classification of the remains discovered under periods. We have acquired a surprising amount of knowledge as to the habits, the architecture, the religion and the art of the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean in the second and even the third thousand years before the Christian era. It has become a

ustom to place at the beginning of works dealing with Greek istory and archaeology an account of the discoveries of Schlie- ıann, Evans and others. And an attempt is often made to how Greek civilization as a continuous development from the eolithic age to the Roman period. While I am as grateful s any one to the great explorers already mentioned, I cannot ltogether accept the corollaries from their discoveries often ut forward. Sir A. Evans has recently definitely stated his pinion that the people of the Minoan and Mycenaean ages ere not of Greek stock.[1] In truth, between the age of the alaces of Cnossus and Mycenae and the childhood of Greek ulture, there intervened a long period of barbarism, after the ude Greek tribes had poured in from the north and over- urned the cities of the wealthy Minoan rulers. It is but in he eighth century B.C., that we begin to discern the elements f a new civilization emerging. And as it emerges, we see more nd more clearly that it is of a character strikingly different rom that which had perished three hundred years earlier. I ould not, of course, deny that something of the skill of hand nd eye which had been trained in the Mycenaean workshops ıay have survived; for the old race was not exterminated, but nly subjugated. But the elements out of which Greek art rose were taken rather from the Phoenicians and the peoples f Western Asia than from the Mycenaeans. This I have lways maintained; and it has been recently enforced with reat learning and energy by Dr. Poulsen.[2] In any case the Greeks never borrowed from other peoples anything but decora- ive forms and simple principles of technique. The principles f their art were all their own. And those principles are in omplete contrast with those of Minoan and Mycenaean art, n art which was very skilful in the use of decorative forms, and

[1] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912, p. 278. This view is confirmed by anthropological vidence derived from the forms of skulls.

[2] Poulsen, *Frühgriechische Kunst und Orient*. Compare Gardner, *New hapters in Greek History*, 1892, p. 126.

is sometimes full of a pleasing naturalism, especially in the rendering of some animal forms, but is wholly without those higher qualities of which in later pages I shall have to speak as distinguishing the art of Greece alike from that of ancient and that of modern peoples.

One must not, however, exaggerate. It is the cities of Greece Proper in which one finds the vogue of that intensely Greek spirit of which Greek art is the outcome. In the earliest pottery of Ionia there is less rigidity and love of balance, more of naturalism and freedom of design, than in the pottery of Corinth or Athens or Chalcis. If we knew more about the still earlier painting of Ionia, we might perhaps find in it a certain amount of Mycenaean survival. Possibly future excavations on the coast of Asia Minor may have surprises in store for us. But if we compare, as a whole, the art of Cnossus and Mycenae with that of Hellas, the resemblances are so slight and the contrast so great as to indicate an utterly different national tendency. The Greeks are in many things our spiritual ancestors; the Mycenaeans scarcely lie in the direct line of our spiritual ancestry. Compare the parallel case of literature. The investigation of the forms of letters in the earliest alphabets has its value, and the primitive inscriptions cut in terra-cotta and on stone by the early peoples of Asia Minor and the Aegean are not without importance; but the interest of such things pales beside that of the great literature which has inspired so much of modern history and poetry and philosophy. Greek art has not, in northern Europe, had the same vogue as Greek literature; yet at some periods, and in some lines of civilization, it has been of untold value, throwing into the shade mere questions of origin.

It is unnecessary that I should try to emphasize the value of Greek literature. The value of Greek art is less generally recognized. Of course to English people ancient literature must always be of far greater interest and value than ancient

art, for the simple reason that they are a literary nation, but not an artistic nation. Yet we have our artists, and are not unaffected by the growing importance of art in the modern world. It is because of our neglect and misunderstanding of ancient art, among other causes, that our artists are, as a rule, so poorly trained, and have to go to Paris and Rome to learn their business. General education has also suffered from the same cause. We have been one-sided. Every one who has studied both the literature and the art of Greece must have discovered that the principles of both are exactly alike, that the Greek drama and the Greek temple, for example, are constructed on parallel lines, and equally embody the aesthetic ideas of the race. These general remarks will, it is hoped, receive constant enforcement and illustration in the course of the following pages.

It is of course possible to schematize too much, to lay down in too dogmatic a fashion in what way the Greek spirit acts under certain conditions. Those conditions vary from period to period and from school to school. It is only a full and careful consecutive study of the history of ancient art which can give one the right to generalize. But generalization, though difficult, is possible; and the student who is bewildered with the number of the schools and artists in Greece, who, after toiling for months and years at certain classes of statues or vases, loses sight of the relation of those classes to the main stem of Greek life, may find it useful and profitable to turn from the material side of ancient monuments to their formal side, to look on them not merely as productions of a certain time and place, made in a certain material, but as a visible embodiment of mental processes, as the result of the outward working of the Greek spirit on the world around.

A more exact exposition of the way in which the Greek genius worked in the sphere of art will be better placed at the end than at the beginning of the present work. It would be useless to

expect the student to furnish his mind with principles apart from the examples in which the principles are embodied. Nor is it desirable that he should accept those principles except after a convincing study of the phenomena.

In the present place it will be more satisfactory to give some account of the sources whence our knowledge of Greek art is derived. The testimony of ancient writers I reserve for treatment in the next chapter. That testimony, however, would avail us little in the absence of the monuments themselves.

A valuable source of information is to be found in Greek inscriptions. It was the custom of the Greeks to record upon marble slabs, not only their laws, treaties, and other important documents of State, but also lists of the treasures preserved in the temples, the financial accounts of the sculptural decorations of their buildings, and the like. And from the middle of the sixth century onwards artists inscribed their names upon the bases of statues, which were dedicated in public places.[1] Such inscriptions not only enable us to identify the productions of known artists; but by the forms of the letters we can judge within narrow limits of the dates when they were executed, while the find-spots inform us where each artist worked.

The great task of modern art-archaeology is to compare with literary and inscriptional information a third source, the actual works of ancient art, so far as they are extant. At the opening of modern history, the works of art in Greece had under Byzantine and Turkish rule been almost completely destroyed, unless they had been buried under the soil. In Italy a few monuments such as the Arch of Beneventum and those of Rome, the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, a few sarcophagi and the like were still to be seen; and we may find in Italian artists of all periods scanty traces of their influence. At the time of the Renaissance, these scattered relics came into higher honour; and researches in Italy, the Greek

[1] Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer.*

Islands, and elsewhere began to furnish materials to the museums of ancient art which were soon founded in the great cities of Europe. The eighteenth century was an age of dilettantes, when it became fashionable for young men of wealth to travel in Italy and beyond, and when the private collections of which so many still remain in the great country houses of England were formed. With the beginning of the nineteenth century a new era in the study of ancient art was opened by the removal of the sculptures of the Parthenon from Athens to London by Lord Elgin. With the emancipation of Greece more systematic work on the sites of ancient civilization began, and a constantly increasing stream of monuments poured into England, France and Germany, from Aegina and Phigaleia, Lycia and Cyprus, Ephesus and Halicarnassus, and many other places.

With the German excavations at Olympia, in the seventies of the last century, began what may be called the modern history of excavation. Germany set the example, since everywhere followed, of making complete and scientific exploration of an ancient site with a view, not to the acquiring of antiques, but to the furtherance of the knowledge of antiquity. What vast results have ensued from recent excavations in Greece and Asia Minor, Egypt and Babylonia, most people know in some measure.[1] At present I have to do only with such discoveries as help us better to understand Greek art. Such understanding can result only from a combined study of classical writers and extant works of art. The writers by themselves, had all the monuments perished, could never have given us any clear or vivid notion of the artistic triumphs of the Greek genius. And the monuments by themselves, apart from classical literature, though they might have roused our admiration and astonishment, would have remained a labyrinth without a clue, and spoken to eye and taste rather than to the historic sense and intellect.

[1] See A. Michaelis, *A Century of Archaeological Discovery*. English translation by Miss B. Kahnweiler.

The sculpture which fills the galleries devoted to ancient art in the great museums of Europe consists of two classes. First we have original works, the date and occasion of which can usually be determined. Of sculpture in the round which is the actual handiwork of known artists of the great age of Greece, we possess comparatively little, at least little which can be attributed to a definite noted author; the Hermes of Praxiteles stands almost alone in this respect. But there is extant an enormous quantity of decorative work from temples, from tombs, and other monuments, of which we can determine the date and the artistic school. And we have many original statues in the round of good period and fine execution which are certainly by good artists, though we can in only a few cases be certain who they are. The British Museum is especially rich in original works of the fifth and fourth centuries, possessing the sculptural adornments of the Parthenon, the temple at Phigaleia, and the Mausoleum, and many fine graves from Lycia. At Munich are the figures from the pediments of the temple at Aegina; at Athens is a great series of statues belonging to the Acropolis before the Persian wars; the author of one at least of these dedicated female figures is known, the Athenian Antenor. Berlin possesses a series of magnificent reliefs of a later age from the great altar at Pergamon; Constantinople, splendid Greek sarcophagi of the fifth and fourth centuries.

But the bulk of Greek originals is greatly exceeded by that of later copies of such originals. The museums of Rome in particular are thronged with hundreds of statues from the sites of Roman villas, which are of very various degrees of merit. It was the custom of wealthy Romans to fill their houses and grounds with works which were more or less close imitations of Greek statues of bronze or marble. These have been recovered in a constant stream since the Renaissance, no source having been more prolific than the villa of Hadrian at Tivoli.

In the study of these copies, and in drawing inferences from them, there is necessary an extreme caution, which has not always been shown. To begin with, the figures are almost always found in a mutilated condition, and the Italian restorers of past centuries have been quite reckless in putting together fragments which had no original connection, and in inventing poses and attributes. And further, even when the figures are complete, or rightly restored, we have no sort of guarantee that they are faithful copies of Greek originals; sometimes they are compiled from several figures, perhaps by different artists.[1] In very many cases they were made by masons who worked without a conscience for uncritical customers; only occasionally do they show a fine appreciation of the originals which they were set to copy, and which they often only knew at second or third hand.

It is also to be observed that the decorative reliefs of temples and tombs, even when belonging to a good age, and executed under the direction of a great master, are usually the work of pupils or masons; and their execution, even when the design and the character of the reliefs is excellent, is often marked by carelessness and inattention. The Greeks themselves attached little value to decorative work. Pausanias describes in great detail the Pheidian statues of Zeus at Olympia and of Athena Parthenos at Athens, but he devotes only twenty-seven words to the sculptures of the pediments of the Parthenon, and does not even mention the metopes and the frieze. Nor does he say a word about the reliefs of the Nike temple and of the Erechtheum.

In regard to Greek painting we are in still worse case. Of the works by great masters which filled such buildings as the Pina-

[1] It is want of appreciation of such facts as these, as well as too great license in conjecture, which ruins the work of one of the ablest of modern archaeologists, Professor Furtwängler. His *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, for all his learning and ability, is largely built on shifting sands. Among the best of recent books on Greek Sculpture is H. Bulle's *Der Schöne Mensch: Altertum*, Ed. 2.

cotheca of Athens, and the Hall of the Cnidians at Delphi, we have no trace, not even copies of the designs. We have to judge of Greek painting mainly from mosaics and the designs of vases, together with the vulgarized and debased wall-paintings of Rome and Pompeii.

On the other hand, the vases, coins, and cut gems of Greece remain to us often in their original state; and it is quite maintainable that these small and comparatively insignificant works give us a higher notion of Greek artistic taste and achievement than larger monuments.

It is all the more wonderful, considering how scanty and how much defaced is the wreckage from the argosy of Greek art which has come to land after the catastrophe, that we can still find the productions of Greek artists to be, within the limits which they set themselves, unmatched, and in fact unapproachable. This is a wonderful testimony to the unique sense of beauty, and the unequalled fine taste which belonged to the people, and marks them out for all time as not less superior in these respects to other peoples than the Jews have been superior to other ancient peoples in the religious sense, the Chinese in the production of pottery, or the Gothic architects of France and England in the erection of great churches.

CHAPTER II

ANCIENT CRITICS ON ART

Greek writers have left us some useful criticisms on the works of their own sculptors and painters. Compared with the modern mind that of the Greeks was uncritical. They were less fond of analysis, and their art work was less consciously directed by purpose. The best ancient criticism comes at a time when the spontaneity of art was past, in the days of Pasiteles and of Lucian. Yet it cannot be indifferent to us to learn what views such masters of thought as Plato and Aristotle held in regard to the sculptors and painters who in their day were filling the stoas and temples with works of imperishable beauty.

The most interesting passage in ancient literature on this subject is to be found in the memoirs of Socrates by Xenophon.[1] Socrates had in his youth worked as a sculptor in the shop of his father, Sophroniscus. In later times a group of the Graces from his hand was shown to visitors on the Acropolis of Athens. And the narrative of Xenophon, being less imaginative than the immortal works of Plato, is not unlikely to record correctly his views about art. I will begin with a translation of the whole passage: —

Sometimes, when Socrates discoursed with those who were devoted to the arts and used them for practical purposes, he was of use to them. Once when he visited Parrhasius the painter, and talked with him he said:[1] "Parrhasius, is not

[1] *Memorabilia*, III., 10.

the painter's art one which represents things visible, when you imitate and depict what is concave and convex, what is dark and light, what is hard and soft, what is rough and smooth, representing in colour young and old bodies?" "It is true," he replied. "And when you represent beautiful bodies, since it is not easy to find an individual in all respects excellent, you compare many persons, and putting together what each out of many has in greatest excellence, so you make bodies fair to behold?" "That is how we proceed," he answered. "Come then," he said, "do you also imitate those conditions of the soul which are most attractive and sweet and humane, causing most pleasure and desire; or are these not to be imitated?" "How, Socrates, could we imitate that which has neither symmetry nor colour, nor any of the qualities of which just now you were speaking; and which in fact is invisible?" "Yet," he said, "it happens that a man will look at others with kindness or with hostility." "So I think," he replied. "Are not these feelings reflected in the eyes?" "Quite so," he answered. "And in regard to good and evil happening to one's friends, do you think there is the same expression of face in those who care and those who care not?". "Certainly not," he replied, "men look with delight in the case of good, with aversion in the case of evil." "Surely," he said, "these things can be represented." "Certainly," he replied. "Well then, it is through expression of face, and through the attitudes of men whether standing or moving, that there shine out such things as magnificence and manliness as well as what is debased and slavish, and temperance and wisdom as well as ill-temper and meanness." "It is true," he answered. "Cannot these things be imitated?" "Of course," he replied. "Whether then do you think it is pleasanter for a man to behold, the expression of what is fair and good and lovely, or of what is foul and evil and hateful?" "Certainly there is a great difference, Socrates."

Another time Socrates visited Cleiton the sculptor,[1] and discoursed with him. "I see and recognize," he said, "Cleiton, that you distinguish [2] runners and wrestlers, and boxers and pancratiasts; but how do you introduce into your statues the lifelike aspect which especially attracts the eyes of men?" And when Cleiton was embarrassed, and could not answer at once, he went on: "Surely by imitating in your work the forms of living men, you make your statues more lifelike." "Certainly," he replied. "It is then by rendering the parts of the body which in various attitudes are drawn up and drawn down, and pressed together and separated, and strained and loosened, that you make figures more like the real ones and more convincing?" "Quite so," he replied. "So the imitation of the strain of bodies doing this or that produces pleasure in the beholders?" "It seems so," he replied. "Must you not then imitate the threatening eyes of those who are fighting, and the triumphant expression of those who are victorious?" "Decidedly," he answered. "It is then the business of a sculptor to represent in bodily forms the energies of the spirit."

Xenophon says that Socrates was of use to painter and sculptor, and he explains in what way he was of use, by directing them to think more of the energies of the spirit. Parrhasius was skilled in rendering the facts of the surface of the human body, whether young or old. And he knew how, by a skilful selection of the beauties of individuals, to form an ideal type. We shall see, in a later chapter, that this procedure was usual with artists. What Parrhasius was less alive to was the degree to which the feelings of the spirit can be mirrored in painting, and the emotional turn which can thus be given to art.

In the same way Cleiton fully understood that the bodily

[1] Dr. Klein has suggested that Cleiton may be an abbreviated form of Polycleitus; but the statues of Polycleitus, however beautiful, are scarcely lifelike.

[2] I take the reading ἀλλοίους ποιεῖς: the reading καλοὶ οὓς ποιεῖς 'you make beautiful,' quite spoils the sense.

forms of runners and wrestlers and boxers must be differentiated. This is a hint to the modern archaeologist, who often does not carefully consider the build of a statue of an athlete with a view to determining what was his special field in athletics, but is content vaguely to call him "an athlete." To this point also we shall return. Cleiton also understood that it was only by studying and copying living bodies that he could make his figures lifelike. But Socrates thought him defective in the expression of emotion. Most moderns would agree that this is a weak point in fifth-century art; though the modern critic would less fully recognize that expression must be conveyed, not only by the features of the face, but by the attitude and strain of the body. It is clear that Socrates in thought led the way to the more expressive art which came in in the fourth century. But he is emphatic, as a true Greek idealist, in maintaining that what is beautiful and lovely is a more suitable subject for art than the ugly and the mean.

Plato is inferior to his master in knowledge and appreciation of art. Indeed his spiritual philosophy has no great sympathy for the mimetic arts. As we see from the *Republic* (p. 598), he regarded these arts as only producing imitations of material objects, which were in turn but copies or reflections of those archetypal ideas which existed in the world of spirit or reality. Thus painter and sculptor were only copyists of phantasms. Such has in most ages been the attitude of strongly religious and spiritual thinkers, who look down on the world of sense. But in Plato one the more regrets this attitude, because it blinded him to the truth that Greek art is never content with the mere appearance, but is ever working back to the idea, is, in fact, as idealistic as the Platonic philosophy itself. Indeed, idealism in art can best be justified by an application of the language of the philosophy of Plato. It is based on the desire to realize those divine ideas which have since the time of Plato been spoken of in many schools of philosophy.

In some of his works, such as the *Symposium*, Plato speaks of art in a somewhat different tone. So fine a stylist could not be wholly indifferent to poetry; and in some places Plato speaks of the poet as an inspired madman. But he scarcely extends this semi-toleration from poetry to the plastic arts. In the *Laws*,[1] the Athenian stranger, evidently with Plato's approbation, speaks admiringly of the art of Egypt because it is stationary and fixed. That Plato should prefer the stagnant art of Egypt to the marvellous works of his own great contemporaries in Greece is a fact which stimulates reflection. After this, the less said of him as an art critic the better. With Plato began the feud between the moralist and the artist which is likely to be eternal.

Aristotle was far broader and more universal in his sympathies than his predecessor. Looking on all things with clear and steadfast eyes, he may be said to have ranged in pigeonholes the results of Greek thinking up to his time. His *Poetics* is an attempt to frame a theory or philosophy of poetry and fine art. But he does not seem to have known much about painting and sculpture; he takes poetry in general, the epic and the drama of the Attic tragedians in particular, as the type of art. No doubt most moderns would agree with him that poetry is the highest and noblest of the arts. But that fact does not make it fairly typical of the rest; in fact, it differs in so many and so striking ways from plastic art that only the most general propositions can be true of both. The Greek drama, it is true, was a very clearly defined form of poetry, a kind which was regulated by most exact laws, and was written not to be read, but only to be exhibited on the stage to the eyes and ears of an audience, much in the fashion of a relief. The Greek drama was thus far nearer to plastic art than is the modern drama. But it is a pity that modern writers have been

[1] p. 657.

led by the authority of Aristotle to take the drama as the typical art, as they have been in some respects misled by this selection.

On the whole, Aristotle's observations on sculpture and painting are slight and general. But his view is in the main the true one, and some of the distinctions which he draws are very helpful to us in the discussion of the principles of Greek mimetic art.

To begin with, though Aristotle regards sculpture and painting as mimetic, imitative arts, he does not fall into Plato's mistake of therefore despising them. For he realizes that when they imitate nature, what they imitate is not mere outward appearances, but the ideal which those appearances partly conceal and partly reveal. "Nature in Aristotle," writes Mr. Butcher, "is not the outward world of created things; it is the creative force, the productive principle, of the Universe." For example, he observes of portrait painters[1] that "they, while reproducing the distinctive form of the original, make a likeness which is true to life and yet more beautiful." This reminds us of Dannecker's saying in regard to the figures in the Parthenon Pediments, "they are as if modelled on nature, yet I have never had the good fortune to see such nature."

We may thus claim Aristotle as setting forth the true view of Greek art. Professor Butcher observes[2] that to him "a work of art is an idealized representation of human life — of character, emotion, action — under forms manifest to sense." "Imitation, so understood, is a creative act. It is the expression of the concrete thing under an image which answers to its true idea. To seize the universal, and to reproduce it in simple and sensuous form, is not to reflect a reality already familiar through sense perceptions; rather it is a rivalry of nature, a completion of her unfulfilled purposes, a correction of her failures."

Aristotle says that "the objects of imitation are men in a

[1] *Poetics*, XV., 8. Butcher's translation.

[2] *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, pp. 153, 154.

state of activity";[1] but this is an exaggeration, unless mere existence be regarded as an activity: indeed, repose, whether momentary or lengthened, is a favourite motive of Greek art. And early Greek art, though it loves action, does not love strained or violent action. Aristotle also observes, in the same passage, that painters depict men as either better or worse than they are, or on their actual level. This of course as it stands is a truism; but caricature is almost unknown in Greek art. Even the commonplace in Greek hands ceases to be trivial, and almost always men are depicted as better than they are.

It is a saying found in Athenaeus[2] that early sculpture is a record or relic of dancing (ὄρχησις). This seems to us a paradox, since Greek statues are usually in simple and unstrained attitudes. In order to understand it, we must consider that the *dancing* of the Greek was largely made up of significant poses and postures; it included not only violent motions, but any which had a rhythmical character, whether of arms, body, or legs. With them any emotion could be represented in dancing, and statues which embodied those emotions might well seem like a petrifaction of dancers. Even athletes in Greece did their exercises to the sound of the flute, thus imparting to them what may be fairly called a musical character.

Both Plato and Aristotle were after all Greeks, and could not look upon art in any but a Hellenic light. In spite of the incomparable value which he attached to the things of the spirit, Plato was not wholly insensible to beauty of form. In the *Republic*, when he is sketching an ideal education for the Guardians of the State, he lays emphasis on the need of saturating not only their minds but their eyes with what is fair and noble. He would seek out artists,[3] "who by the power of genius can trace out the nature of the fair and the graceful,

[1] *Poetics*, II., 1.
[2] *Deipnosophistae*, XIV., p. 629.
[3] *Republic*, p. 401. Transl. Davies and Vaughan.

that our young men, dwelling as it were in a healthful region, may drink in good from every quarter, whence any emanation from noble works may strike upon their ear, like a gale wafting health from salubrious lands, and win them imperceptibly from their earliest childhood into resemblance love and harmony with the true beauty of reason." In a similar spirit Aristotle advocates the teaching to boys of drawing, not for the lower purpose of enabling them to buy the right works of art, but in order that they may become judges of the beauty of the human form.[1]

But Plato, though alive to human beauty, also shares and carries further his countrymen's dulness to the beauty of natural scenes. When, he says, a painter has to render mountain or river, forest or sky, we are content with mere suggestions. "Since we have no accurate knowledge of such things we do not closely examine or criticise the paintings; we are content with a vague and delusive rendering in such a case. But when an artist tries to represent our bodies, we keenly perceive the defects, and in virtue of our constant close observation, become severe critics of one who does not render in all respects an accurate likeness." [2] To a modern critic this pronouncement may well seem an extreme paradox, but there can be no doubt that it represents the Greek attitude of mind.

There are certain phrases and contrasts mostly found in Aristotle's *Poetics* which become a sort of stock in trade to subsequent writers, such contrasts as that between the art which ennobles and the art which traduces, between ethical and pathetic art, between symmetry and rhythm, and the like. It will be worth while briefly to examine these formulae. We will begin with the contrast of symmetry and rhythm.

Symmetry (*συμμετρία*) is properly the proportion of one part of the body as measured against another. Several of the great sculptors of Greece held, as Lionardo da Vinci held later, that

[1] *Politics*, VIII., 3. [2] *Critias*, *Ad init.*

certain proportions are so beautiful that they should always be, within certain limits, preserved — the proportion of the height of the head or the length of the foot to the whole stature, and the length of parts of the head or the body to other parts. We know from observation with what remarkable care and minuteness the Greeks regulated the proportions of columns and other members of their temples. They had a strong tendency toward introducing simple mathematical relations, which may perhaps have been but a human rendering of the tendency in nature toward simple curves and pleasing proportions. It was quite natural that they should transfer this tendency from architecture to sculpture.

Of symmetry in the strict sense, the mathematical proportion of part to part, we have a remarkable example in the Man with a Spear, the Doryphorus, of Polycleitus. Of this work ancient writers tell us that it embodied in a work of art the views of Polycleitus as to the due proportions of the human body, on which he also wrote a treatise, as did Lionardo da Vinci, and we are fortunate enough to have extant copies of this historic type of symmetry, the best of which is in the Museum of Naples. This happens conveniently to be two metres, six feet eight inches, in height, and it has naturally been submitted to very detailed measurements. It has been found that the length of the foot is .33 metre, or one-sixth of the height, and the height of the face .20 metre, or one-tenth of the height. M. Guillaume has carried the analysis farther. He cites[1] a passage of the great physician Galen, which runs as follows: "Chrysippus thinks that beauty resides in the proportion of the limbs, that is, in the relation of finger to finger, of the fingers together to the palm and wrist, of these parts to the lower arm, of the lower arm to the upper arm, and of the limbs to one another, as it is written in the canon of

[1] E. Guillaume, *Études d'Art antique et moderne*, Paris, 1888. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art antique*, No. 29. Compare Galen, *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.*, 5.

Polycleitus." Comparing with this statement the actual facts of the statue, M. Guillaume finds that the palm, that is, the breadth of the hand at the roots of the fingers, does serve as a common measure of its proportions. This palm is one-third of the length of the foot, one-sixth of the length of the lower leg, one-sixth of the length of the thigh, one-sixth of the length from navel to ear, and so forth.

This is a mere outward and superficial symmetry. But the term is afterwards used more generally to express grace of outline in repose.

The term *rhythm* is less easy to interpret. Brunn held that as symmetry was the relation of part to part when at rest, so rhythm was the correspondence of part to part when in motion. The simplest instance of rhythm in the human body is found in the fact that when in walking the right foot is advanced, the left arm moves naturally with it, and so balance is preserved. The Discobolus of Myron (Fig. 19) would be a typical example of the rhythm of balance. It has, however, been pointed out [1] that in use the word has a wider meaning, being applied to clothes, a cup, letters. The application of the term to balance and cadence in music and poetry is familiar to us: in sculpture it is now only used by analogy. It would seem that rhythm implies movement, regular and balanced; but that movement may be summed up in a sculptured or painted figure, or it may take place in the eye and mind of the spectator as he passes from point to point in any production of nature or work of art. Sprays of a tree are rhythmical, both because they actually put out a leaf first on one side and then on the other, and because they lead on the eye in a rhythmical manner. Pediments of Greek temples are rhythmical when the eye passes from figure to figure with a certain cadence; and it is evident, as we shall see in a future chapter, that pediments and reliefs were planned with a view to this effect.

[1] E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, I., p. 248.

Another contrast on which Greek critics dwell is that between ethos (ἦθος) and pathos. They tell us that the great schools of art in the fifth century, the painters Polygnotus and Micon, the sculptors Pheidias and Polycleitus, appeared to later ages to be predominantly ethical; but that when we come to the artists of the fourth century, the painters Zeuxis and Apelles, the sculptors Praxiteles and Scopas, this ethical character gives way to pathos. Ethos in men is that which is permanent and essential, the underlying foundations of a man's nature as inherited by him from his ancestors, and as modified by the course of his life and action. An ethical portrait shows us a man as he lives in the world of ideas, apart from any changing appearances arising from the particular time of life at which he is portrayed, the precise state of his health, or the impulses which are at the moment dominant. In this permanent ethical aspect men may be good or bad, but the great art of Greece usually depicts only what is good; it looks on the better side of things, and sees rather the best that men might attain to than the worst to which they might fall. At the same time, it must be allowed that the Greek physical ideal was more fleshly than could be accepted by any nation whose thought and belief had been moulded by Christianity. Greek religion and morality aimed rather at the mean than the extreme, and asceticism had no part in them.

The ethos, which is character, will evidently be differently represented in different schools. In Greece there were two main conceptions of it. The Argive and Dorian artists were, in type, athletic rather than religious or intellectual; thus the ethos represented in such works of art as the Doryphorus, and still more in some of the portraits of boy-victors by Polycleitus, is indeed thoroughly Greek, representing a disposition at one with itself and with nature, but stands far from the restless intelligence of Athens. In the Ionian school we have a somewhat different tendency. The great painter Polygnotus, of

whom ancient critics speak as predominantly ethical, is known to us from the detailed descriptions of his paintings left us by the traveller Pausanias,[1] whence we can judge that they were pervaded by a delightful gentleness of sentiment and repose of treatment. In the works of Pheidias, also a great ethical sculptor, we may trace a broader and more varied rendering of character. In the Parthenon frieze we have the gentle orderliness of Polygnotus, but in the most noted works of the Master, the Zeus of Olympia, and the Athena Parthenos of Athens, we may discern a higher strain. These works embodied to the Greek mind the highest qualities of the divine beings portrayed. Quintilian says that they added something to the received religion; what this means we shall consider in chapter VI.

The pathetic schools of sculpture and painting were scarcely less ideal than were the ethical — the Greek never gave up his search for the type — but yet they aimed less at what was permanent in the figures which they produced, and ventured to attempt the rendering of more transitory action and feeling. We find a preparation for the pathetic school of sculpture in the remark of Socrates to the sculptor Cleiton, that the affections of the soul, *τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργα*, may be indicated in sculpture. The fighting warriors of Scopas are as noble in form as the athletes of Polycleitus, but they surpass them in expressiveness; alike in face and attitude, they freely embody the expression of "the delights and the horrors of war."[2] The Hermes, the Aphrodite, and the Satyrs of Praxiteles do not embody active pathos or passion, but a gentle contemplative attitude, a pathos of repose. Later, in the age after Alexander, we have pathos of a more modern kind, free representations of strong emotion of all kinds, though even then Greek sculpture never

[1] The paintings are restored conjecturally by Professor Robert; repeated in Frazer's *Pausanias*, Vol. V. See ch. XII.

[2] Perhaps Aristotle would have regarded Scopas' warriors as illustrating the class of *πράξεις*, rather than that of *πάθη*.

loses its innate nobility, or sinks to a level which can be called vulgar. One may fairly say that it idealizes even deformity itself. For example, in the Palace of the Conservators at Rome there are two noteworthy statues of the Hellenistic age,[1] one representing an old fisherman, the other an old shepherdess. Both are ugly and wrinkled, and the folds of their skin are portrayed with wonderful fidelity to life. At first sight they seem mere transcripts from sordid actuality. Yet, on a closer study, one sees how marvellously they embody the idea of a life of hardship passed in battling with wind and storm; and they are found, after all, to have an underlying idealism, which one would not always find in a modern rendering of the same subjects. Their character, if one may use a modern parallel, is of the school of Dickens, rather than of the school of the *Police Gazette*. Dickens has also been called a realist; but in fact he gives us not individuals but types, much in the fashion of the Greeks, but without their delicacy of taste.

Another distinction drawn by Aristotle is between the poets and artists who represent men as better than they are, and those who represent them as worse than they are, with the intermediate class of those who represent men neither as better nor as worse, but exactly as they are in fact. "Sophocles," he remarks,[2] "said that he drew men as they ought to be, Euripides as they are." Of course the broad distinction between the idealist, the naturalist and the caricaturist holds at all times and in all lands. But to discuss this matter at length would take us too far into the deep waters of aesthetics, and we must reserve it for treatment in the final chapter of this book.

In the great and flourishing time of art, while every day brought forth new and striking developments, while great temples were rising, and the market-places were being stored like museums with the masterpieces of great sculptors, it does

[1] In Brunn's series. Pl. 393.

[2] *Poetics*, XXV., 10.

not seem to have occurred to any one to write on the subject. It was only with the rise of Alexandria that writers began to be commentators, to give an account of those who had produced great works of literature and art, and to describe their activities. It is true that some of the great sculptors wrote works on the ideal proportions of the human frame, notably Polycleitus and Euphranor. But such works were neither historical nor critical, but a statement of the principles which were adopted by the writers. Some of the Peripatetic followers of Aristotle seem to have, as a relief to their severer studies, collected anecdotes about noteworthy men. But in the Hellenistic age more learning was in vogue. Xenocrates, a sculptor of the School of Lysippus, and Antigonus of Carystus in Euboea, seem to have written complete histories of painting and sculpture. And in the last century B.C. Pasiteles, a sculptor of the Neo-Attic School which flourished in the time of Caesar, was as noted for his historic writings as for his adaptations to later taste of early schemes in art.

The learned Roman authors, Varro and Pliny, did little more than make abstracts, and put together the statements of such Greek writers as Xenocrates and Pasiteles. The only extensive account of the history of Greek art which has come down to us is contained in two or three books of the *Natural History* of Pliny.[1] Pliny was a laborious writer, contemporary with the Caesars of the first century A.D., who spent most of his life in reading learned Greek works, or having them read to him by a secretary, and making notes of their contents. These notes are not very critical, and contain misunderstandings, but in the absence of the Greek originals they become of value to us. It may be asked what the history of art has to do with that of nature. Fortunately for us, Pliny chose to consider chapters on the working of bronze as a necessary supplement

[1] *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, 1896.

to his account of the procuring and smelting of the metal: and in the same way his account of marble-sculpture, painting and gem-cutting is regarded by him as a completion of his chapters on various kinds of earth, pigments and precious stones. The result of this plan of grouping according to the material used by the artist is curious. The sculptors who worked in bronze are catalogued in a different place from those who worked in marble. No doubt there were in Greece schools in which the working of bronze predominated, such as the school of Argos, and others, such as that of Chios, which worked mainly in marble. But many of the Greek sculptors were noted for work in both materials; thus Praxiteles, for example, figures in both sections of Pliny. Other writers, such as Quintilian and Cicero, sometimes furnish us with information as to the place of sculptors in history.[1]

Cicero fluctuates, in a way which is very amusing, between his desire to be regarded as a lover of art and his deep Roman conviction that such matters as art are scarcely worthy of the attention of a serious statesman. He collected works of Greek sculpture; but in his letters he often avows how little he knows of art. When in his dialogues he writes on the subject, the superficiality of his knowledge is apparent enough. "Who is there," he writes,[2] "among those who pay attention to these lesser matters, who does not recognize that the statues of Canachus are too stiff to represent nature, while those of Calamis, though stiff, are softer than those of Canachus? Those of Myron have not yet attained complete fidelity to nature, but you would not hesitate to call them beautiful; those of Polycleitus are yet more beautiful; and indeed in my opinion quite perfect. The case is similar in regard to painting: there we appreciate the forms and the drawing of Zeuxis, Polygnotus,

[1] The passages of ancient writers bearing upon sculpture are collected and translated in H. S. Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture*. A fuller collection is Overbeck's *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste*.

[2] *Brutus*, 18.

Timanthes and those who did not use more than four colours; but in the works of Echion, Nicomachus, Protogenes and Apelles everything is perfect." When a critic speaks of an artist as perfect it shows how crude his judgment is, and how little he realizes that art is a ladder set up on the earth but reaching to the stars.

While Pliny deals with Greek sculptors and painters and their works in historic order, they are reviewed from another point of view, the topographical, by Pausanias, an intelligent Greek traveller, who in the age of the Antonine Emperors spent much time in travelling through Greece, and making a careful record of what he saw. A generation ago it was the fashion to regard Pausanias as a mere disher up of other men's notes, and an untrustworthy authority; but one result of the recent careful excavations at Olympia and Delphi has been entirely to revive his credit. We are now convinced of his carefulness and general accuracy, though now and then he misreads his authorities or his notes; and his history, for which of course he depends on older writers, is not authoritative. But he really saw what he professes to have seen; his very mistakes are often the exceptions to prove the rule of general accuracy, for we can see how he was misled. In spite of the ravages of Flamininus and Mummius, of Augustus and Nero, Greece in the age of Pausanias still remained a storehouse richly crowded with works of art, paintings, bronzes, marbles, splendid statues of the Gods, and series of dedications dating from the rise of Greek art in the sixth century to the Indian summer of the days of Hadrian. The reader who wishes to know what the market-places, the stoas, the temples of Greece were like, before the fury of the early Christians broke upon them, should read a few books of Pausanias, in the version of Dr. J. G. Frazer.[1] And if he wishes to learn what modern research has added to the information given by the Traveller,

[1] J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, 6 volumes, 1898.

ıe should study the learned notes and dissertations of the same .dmirable writer.

Pausanias is, it must be allowed, a dull writer. Though ıe often tries to imitate the style of Herodotus, his imitation is)f the most superficial kind, and the charm, the humour, the umanity of Herodotus are far out of his reach. Perhaps he is he safer guide in matters of fact; it is certain that if he makes ıistakes, those mistakes will be due rather to confusion of notes han to flights of imagination. It is interesting to observe :hat works of art preserved in the agorae and temples this redecessor of Baedeker marks, so to speak, with an asterisk. 'irst, he has a great respect for the works of the Greek *Primi-'ves*. When he comes to the "Chest of Cypselus" in the He-aeum at Olympia, a wooden chest of the seventh century, ıade of cedar wood and inlaid with a number of scenes from ;reek mythology, varied with ivory, ebony and gold, he describes hese scenes figure by figure, and copies the archaic inscriptions :hich explained them. So precise is his detailed catalogue hat Mr. Stuart Jones has succeeded in recreating the scenes f the chest, figure by figure, from the testimony of Attic and 'halcidian and Corinthian vases of the period.[1] In the same 'etail he describes the wonderful throne made for the Apollo f Amyclae by the Ionian sculptor Bathycles. He seldom asses without mention large works of archaic style, unless ɔdeed they be part of the decoration of a temple. Next to 'rchaic works he holds in honour the great monuments of the fth century, the masterpieces of Polygnotus the painter, or 'heidias and Polycleitus the sculptors. The great paintings ı the house of the people of Cnidus at Delphi by Polygnotus, :hich represented the taking of Troy and the visit of Odysseus ɔ Hades, he describes in utmost detail, again giving every hance to the modern restorer. He writes page after page

[1] *Journ. Hell. Studies*, XIV., 30; Pl. I.: repeated in Frazer's *Pausanias*, ol. III., Pl. X.

about the minute decoration of the ivory throne in which the Zeus of Olympia was seated. The only temple-sculptures, however, which he carefully describes are those of the temple in which that great statue was seated; perhaps rather on account of the religious importance of the spot, than on account of their beauty.

It is fortunate that the texts of Pliny and Pausanias are composed from different points of view, and help one another. They give the student, so to speak, indications of latitude and longitude, by the help of which he can locate artists and works of art.

Another writer of importance to the student of Greek art is Lucian. The authorities cited by Pliny and Quintilian give us only the most general statements in regard to the style of the artists of whom they speak. This one is less stiff than his predecessors; that one shows more approach to nature; a third is the first to pay careful attention to the hair, and so forth. But Lucian can see the points of a statue, and his criticisms have a more modern air than those of other writers. He will praise the outline of a cheek, the delicacy of taper fingers, the fascination of a smile. If only he had left us treatises, or even pages, instead of a few sentences, we should have been richer.

Lucian tells us that the art of statuary was hereditary in his family; he was apprenticed to the craft, but broke away early; one can imagine that his tongue would render him ill to live with, and anything but docile as a pupil. A good example of his critical talent is given in that passage in his *Images* in which he tries to compose an ideal beauty by putting together the points which he most admires in celebrated statues and pictures. He begins with the head of the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, observing that as his beautiful lady is to be draped the body of the Cnidian goddess will not serve. From Praxiteles then he takes the hair and the forehead, and the level line of the eyebrows, as well as the character of the eyes,

the bright and liquid glance of which is full of charm. For the cheeks and the outline of the face he combines the Aphrodite of the Garden by Alcamenes and the Lemnian Athena of Pheidias, the nose especially following the Pheidian model. The harmony of the mouth and the turn of the neck he adopts from the Amazon of Pheidias; the wrists and hands with tapering fingers from the Goddess of the Garden. The expression, a sweet and subtle smile, is taken from the Sosandra of Calamis; also the fashion of the dress, simple and modest, only that while the Sosandra has a veil over her head, the new creation is to be bare-headed. For the age of the beauty Lucian turns again to the Goddess of Cnidus, who, as we know, combined maturity of form with the freshness of youth.

Then it occurs to the critic that his creation after all is pale and colourless; so he turns to the noted paintings of great masters. Most of the noted pictures of antiquity represented but a single figure; and Lucian, whether he had seen them or not, knows them well. He goes to Euphranor to paint the hair of his beauty like that of his Hera; while Polygnotus is called in to give colour to the pencilled line of the eyebrows and the glowing cheeks, which are to be like those of Cassandra in the painting at Delphi. The same artist is to paint the drapery, in some parts severe, in others more flowing; while Apelles is to give a delicate flesh-tint, to show the blood under the skin as in the picture of Pacata;[1] and the lips are to be as red as those of the Roxana of Aetion.

But Lucian goes on somewhat to mar his point by turning from the artists to the poets. Homer, an approved judge of the beauty of women, must have a share in the ideal; and must be ready to recognize her as laughter-loving and white-armed and rosy-fingered like golden Aphrodite. This will easily, I think, be arranged, for Homer, with the optimism of the true

[1] This seems to be the concubine of Alexander, elsewhere called Pancasta and Campaspe.

poet, finds beauty in almost every woman he mentions. Then the critic betrays his own predilections; for he grows eloquent over the slightly parted lips of his lady, between which there shows a line of teeth so even and so white that you might take them for a string of well-matched pearls. Alas! by this time we have forgotten the severity of Calamis and the majesty of Pheidias, and have sunk to the level of daily life. The lover has overpowered the critic. But the truth is, as stated above, that art-criticism requires a reflective and self-conscious attitude which is foreign to the Greek genius.

CHAPTER III

THE GREEK TEMPLE

In dealing with the principles of Greek art, it is necessary to begin with architecture, and particularly with the temple.[1] The temple, with the image of the deity which it enclosed, was a unity, including the best results of all the arts — architecture, sculpture, painting, music, poetry. An examination of its character takes us straight to the heart of Greek religion and art, and indeed of Greek civilization.

Before examining the purposes and the structural ideas of the temple, it may be well to speak briefly of the external conditions under which it was evolved.

Influence of country and race. In the construction of modern cities and of great buildings little influence of the natural features of the surrounding landscape is to be observed. Indeed nature has receded and man is predominant. The same thing is in a great degree true of the vast palaces and temples of Babylon and Egypt, built in great plains, and making, as it were, a world independent of them. But in Greece and Asia Minor nature is more prominent and insistent; the whole country is made up of rugged mountains divided by narrow valleys

[1] There are several recent works on Greek architecture. Anderson and Spiers' *Greek and Roman Architecture* gives facts rather than principles. The great German works of Bötticher, Uhde, Puchstein and others are for specialists only. The best books for the general student are Marquand, *Handbook of Greek Architecture*; Sturgis, *History of Architecture*, Vol. I.; Vol. VII. of Perrot and Chipiez' *L'Art dans l'Antiquité*, A. Choisy's *Histoire de l'Architecture*, Vol. I. and E. Boutmy's *Philosophie de l'Architecture en Grèce*. The last is in its way admirable; full of brilliant suggestions. I am greatly indebted to it in this chapter.

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and little plains. The works of man occupy but a small space in any Greek landscape. And the Greek himself, with wonderfully keen senses and profound appreciation of his surroundings, would be instinctively, if not consciously, averse from introducing into the landscape what would be out of harmony with its lines. Among Swiss mountains to-day one may notice the same clear adaptation of building to surroundings; the chalet almost seems a natural feature of the view. Any one who has visited a partially preserved Greek temple amid its natural surroundings, the temple at Phigaleia, those of Paestum, that of Segesta, will realize how fatal it would be to remove these buildings into a landscape of a different kind. To local influences are largely due the smallness of most temples, the rigid lines of their construction, their close dependence upon stone and marble as materials.

Even more clearly stamped upon all Greek buildings than the influence of place is the influence of the character of the Greek race. M. Boutmy has emphasized with great force the fact that the Greek temple could only have arisen among a race in which the senses were extremely acute and active, and the mind of a very clear and logical order. It is a triumph of the senses and the intellect, in every part inviting close examination, and in every part showing definite purpose and design. When we examine its parts in detail, we find the principles of reason dominating them all. Herein again we may contrast it with the religious buildings of the Tigris and the Nile, where so much is vague and suggestive, so much traditional and instinctive. The Greek was ever predominantly a rationalist and an observer.

But though religion in Greece did not take the same dominant and overpowering position which it took in the great empires of the East, yet the Greek of early times was in his way thoroughly religious. But in place of a vague awe in the presence of the unseen, he introduced the tendency to vividly

personify the powers of nature, to make them objective and definite by means of poetry, of art, and of music. The astonishing humanity which prevails in the Homeric Olympus is reflected in every part of the world of Greek art. As time went on the gods were moulded ever more and more after the fashion of a refined and beautified humanity, until they came too near to the human level, and men in ceasing to look up to them ceased to believe in them, and fell back upon the superstition of the pre-Hellenic ages and races, or upon the reasoned theism of the philosophers. The whole beauty and all the history of Greek art belong to the great national movement which created an Olympus remarkable not for sublimity and awfulness but for human interest and aesthetic charm.

The temple was invented or grew up at a time when the gods had been thoroughly humanized. The god, or his accepted surrogate, the image, dwelt in a temple as the king dwelt in his hall, or *megaron*, and the forms of the temple repeat, in the main, but in an enlarged and beautified manner, the forms of the palace. But when the temple arose, it is quite clear that the belief in the gods had not begun to decay, that there was nothing of the familiarity akin to contempt with which artists and poets in the fourth century treated the deities of Olympus. Never would vast sums have been expended, and infinite pains taken, to provide abodes for deities who were not regarded as in close relations with man, and a present help in times of trouble. The rationalism of the philosophers and the spread of Oriental enthusiasms in time destroyed Greek national religion; but the process was a very slow one, not completed even in the days of Alexander the Great. And with religion, art and the drama and literature lowered their tone: only philosophy and science raised it.

The purposes of the Greek temple may be easily discerned from the study of its plan; but besides, those purposes are em-

phasized by all the details of the construction and decoration. The plan is of extreme simplicity. The building usually consisted of three parts, of which by far the most important was the cella, wherein stood the statue of the indwelling deity, the jewel for which the whole temple was but an ornamented shrine or box. In the fifth century, at all events, the size and form of the cella were carefully planned for and adapted to the display of this image. Smaller chambers in front and behind,

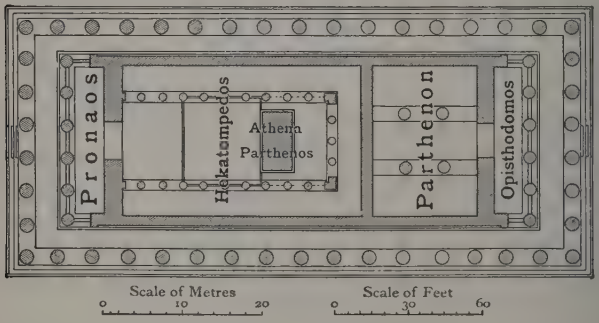

FIG. 1. — Plan of the Parthenon.[1]

the pronaos and opisthodomos, were mostly used for the storage of the sacrificial vessels belonging to the service of the deity and all sorts of objects of value which were dedicated to him. Sometimes, in addition, the temple was a treasury for the custody of money, frequently belonging, as at Delos, to the landed estate of the god. Outside the cella with its dependencies were porches of approach, and often a corridor surrounded by pillars running all round the edifice.

These simple facts will at once emphasize the contrast between the ancient temple and the modern church, though the cathedrals of the Roman and Byzantine Churches are in less marked contrast to Greek ways of thought than those of the

[1] By Dörpfeld, in *Athen. Mittheil.*, 1881, Pl. XII.

Reformed Churches. To the Greeks the cella was primarily the abode of the deity: there was no congregational worship. The festivals and processions of the city took place outside the temples, though often within the sacred *temenos*, or enclosure. Those who entered the temple came usually as individuals, or in families, to make some offering or to beseech the favour of the deity. In later times the temple was little but a museum of art and dedications. But in the earlier ages the very presence of the temple, enshrining the national deity, was regarded by all as the chief pride of the city, and its guarantee against foes without and sedition within. The chief deity of each city represented that city in embodied ideal form, and was scarcely to be distinguished from the personification of the city itself.

Such is the purpose, the informing and active purpose, which prompted men to erect temples, and to erect them in one fashion rather than another. But in this case, as in others, we must keep apart the two matters of the purpose or final cause of the temple and its origins or historic antecedents. In treating of the construction and decoration of the buildings, this distinction is essential, and it has often been overlooked. Thus some archaeologists speak as if all the features of the temple could be derived from the fact that it was originally copied from a dwelling-house, and of wooden construction. Others are disposed to treat it as if it had been thought out purposefully in stone, and every detail calculated to produce a given aesthetic or religious impression. The true way, as usual, is the *via media*. It was purpose which determined the details of the construction, but that purpose often only existed in unconscious form, as a tendency. And the tendency could work only under given conditions, and in the direction not of a fresh creation, but of an adaptation of what already existed.

Let us briefly consider in this light the character of the temple as a work of art. It was adapted to satisfy the demands of the spectator, whether conscious or unconscious, the demands of

sense, of intelligence, and of religious emotion. It may help us if we have at the same time in our minds the characteristics of the great Christian cathedrals of the Middle Ages. The two kinds of edifice present in most respects a startling contrast, a contrast of religions, of races, of mental and moral tendencies. Both may be said to belong to a past which is no longer alive, but is yet full of instruction for the present. For my own part I have no doubt that the church is a nobler construction than the temple, richer, more ethical, more imaginative. But the principles of both enter into the foundations of our modern civilization; and if we neglected or despised either we should inevitably retrograde. In the eighteenth century Gothic architecture was neglected as merely barbarous; at present there is a danger of undervaluing Greek architecture: both tendencies are equally disastrous.

In architecture as in sculpture the Greek eye demanded symmetry, or beautiful proportions, and rhythm, or a beautiful relation of part to part. The subject of the proportions of temples is a very complicated one. No two buildings are quite alike in the height and diameter of their columns, the height of the architrave, the intercolumniations. But the unit of measurement seems to have been the diameter of the column: the dimensions of all parts were worked out on this basis, as the proportions of the human body were worked out on the basis of the palm, or breadth of the hand. To understand these proportions is an elaborate matter. It seems quite certain that the ordinary Greek man had a far keener perception than we of the beauty of certain relations in size, of the value of a curve, of the suitability of an angle. And his eye in passing from part to part of a building demanded balance, looked for the recurrence of ornamental forms in a regular succession, and desiderated in them a beautiful outline, in itself poised like the scales of a balance about a central line. We are reminded of the fact that Greek athletes did their exercises to the sound of the

flute, and that men sang the chorus songs in tragedy to the rhythmical motions of body and feet in dancing.

It is the acuteness of the Greek senses which led to a remarkable feature of architecture, which has been much discussed, the so-called *entasis*. At a distance the temples, which were usually erected on some lofty and conspicuous site, looked like crystals; and Renan has spoken of the Parthenon as "l'idéal crystallisé en marble Pentélique." But when we examine them closely, we find that the lines which bound them are not rigid, nor are the members arranged with mechanical exactness. Mr. Penrose first fully investigated this phenomenon in regard to the Parthenon, and the observation has since been extended to other temples. We find that the pillars are not equidistant, that the lines of the base and the architrave are not straight, that the metopes are not of exactly the same size. And not only are the pillars of varying diameter and not perfectly upright, but their diminution from base to summit does not proceed regularly, but in a subtle curve.

In his work on *Ancient Athens* Professor Ernest Gardner gives an excellent summary of these optical corrections in the Parthenon from which I may quote a few lines.[1] "The steps upon which the building rests have a convex curve; though the total rise does not amount to more than four inches at the highest point, in the middle of each side, and to three inches at the middle of the front and back, it is easily perceptible to the eye (Fig. 2) if seen from the corner of the building." "The architrave above the columns has a similar curve, though it is not now so regular, owing probably to the accidents that have shattered the building." "The nicety with which this curve had to be calculated by the architect, and the allowances which had to be made for it, may best be realized by an examination of the corner columns. These were standing upon a bed that sloped both ways, and the necessary corrections are effected in their lowest

[1] pp. 271–275.

drums, of which the upper surfaces are nearly horizontal." "The axes of the columns themselves are not exactly vertical, but incline slightly inward, nearly three inches in their total height of over thirty-four feet." "The inward slope of the columns, and the slightly pyramidal shape which it gives to the whole temple, gives an appearance of stability which would be absent if all the columns were perfectly vertical." "The entasis,

FIG. 2. — Sloping lines of basis of Parthenon.

or gentle swelling of the shaft, is in a single harmonious curve from capital to base; and the outline of the echinus, which in earlier Doric columns is in the form of a rounded bowl, here approaches so nearly to a straight line that at first sight its curve may easily be overlooked; but it is there, and its presence gives the appearance of elasticity which we miss in later examples of the order."

The lines of decorative ornament, which we can best study

in the Erechtheum at Athens, were simple and perhaps monotonous. Alternate flowers and buds of the lotus, the palmette, the egg and tongue moulding, simple maeander patterns, recur repeatedly from temple to temple and from period to period. But in the best age the mere workmanship has such distinction that one can pick out in a moment a small splinter of the Erechtheum from a heap of fragments on the Acropolis, and one cannot but stand astonished at its exquisite finish.

Still clearer than the testimony which architectural details bear to the delicacy of the senses of the Greeks is the testimony which the whole scheme of the temple bears to the clearness and rationality of their minds. On this point M. Boutmy dwells with convincing force. He observes that if we drew an outline diagram, marking with arrows the direction of the strain, and the reasonable order of considering a temple, we should find that the form and decoration of existing temples at every point correspond with those arrows. This applies especially to the Doric style. We start from the solid basis or platform, laid direct upon the native rock, and sloping away in a few steps which run all round the edifice. Only at the front and back are they used as approaches; but the massive parallel lines of solid masonry give an unsurpassed impression of stability. On this basis is set in the midst the cella or chamber where the deity dwells, shut off by walls as by curtains from the gaze of the people, and filled with the rich offerings of the pious. The walls are plain, except that sometimes at the top, whether outside as in the Parthenon, or inside as at Phigaleia, we find a narrow frieze which resembles the border of a curtain. Primarily these walls are intended not to support but to divide; no emphasis is laid on their solidity. In the larger temples this cella is surrounded by a continuous line of solid columns. The spaces between them admit light and air, and by partly concealing and partly revealing the building within they emphasize its sacred character. But the pillars themselves have but one

function, to carry a superstructure. Their whole form is worked out in this key. Massive and close together they rise out of the ground; they have not even a basis to delay the eye; their only

FIG. 3.—Anatomy of the Parthenon.

decoration is the vertical flutings which carry the sight up in grooves towards the top, where we find capitals of very simple swelling form mediating between the upright lines of the pillars and the flat and massive architrave which rests horizontally

upon them. This architrave is quite unadorned; it is given wholly to business; being in fact in its turn the basis of the upper mass of the temple, over it is the line of alternating triglyph and metope. The triglyphs continue the lines of the columns; their vertical grooves correspond to the flutings of the columns; they are the supports of cornice and roof. Between them were probably at an early time open spaces; but later the spaces were filled by square slabs called the metopes, on which there is no strain, and which were often sculptured. At the front and back of the temple is a triangular gable or pediment which again is a comparatively otiose member; and a line of antefixes in terra-cotta along the sides gives a finish to the whole.

We have hitherto spoken of the Doric temple, which is the most characteristically Greek type. The Ionic temple does not greatly differ in scheme; but it is more luxurious, more restful, less rigid. In this style the columns have a moulded base, and the capital, formed by volutes, is not a mere transitional member, but a thing of beauty in itself. The part of the building above the columns is less solid, the architrave less massive, and divided by horizontal lines, while the most striking feature of the Doric temple, the line of triglyphs and metopes, is wanting; sometimes we find in its place a continuous sculptured frieze.

The decoration of the members of the temple is in inverse proportion to their usefulness to the structure. The pillars are very simple. The lines of the cornice are gently emphasized by courses of simple decoration, such as egg and tongue mouldings. Only in the parts of the building which have, or appear to have, no structural function, the pediments, the metopes, the top line of the walls, do we find a free hand given to the sculptor to compose groups in high or low relief. In the most otiose part of the whole structure, the pediment, we sometimes find figures in the round. But even where the hand of the sculptor is freest, he never thinks of following the laws of his own art with-

out regard to the purposes of the building which he is decorating. On the contrary, he makes his compositions, both in line and in colouring, suitable to the structure. He works in high relief in the metopes, which are deeply recessed, in low relief in the frieze, which adorns a flat surface. He cultivates extreme simplicity, avoids the crossing of lines and of shadows, fills his space in such a way that there are no blank spaces. In speaking of sculpture we shall return to this subject.

When we examine in detail even the simplest architectural decoration, we discover a similar combination of care, sense of proportion, and reason. The flutings of an Ionic column are not in section mere arcs of a circle, but made up of a combination of curves which produce a beautiful optical effect; the lines of decoration, as may be best seen in the case of the Erechtheum, are cut with a marvellous delicacy. Instead of trying to invent new schemes, the mason contents himself with improving the regular patterns until they approach perfection, and he takes everything into consideration. Mouldings on the outside of a temple, in the full light of the sun, are differently planned from those in the diffused light of the interior. Mouldings executed in soft stone are far less fine than those in marble. The mason thinks before he works, and while he works, and thinks in entire correspondence with his surroundings.

The Greek artistic mind is in some respects like nature. As nature in the elaboration of species seems sometimes to make a wrong departure and to produce forms unfitted for survival, so the Greek architect sometimes violated the fitnesses of things and took a step which was not followed up. For instance, in the archaic temple of Artemis at Ephesus the lower drums of the columns were adorned with reliefs representing human beings of about the size of life. This variation may probably have arisen from the early custom of surrounding the pillars of temples when they were made of wood with a coating of bronze plates; and as these plates did not bear any actual strain, there

was no definite reason against their adornment with reliefs. When the wooden pillar gave way to stone, the reliefs of its bronze covering might well be copied. This may have been the turn taken by events at Ephesus, a turn imitated only in one or two other great temples, and definitely set aside by the progress of architecture. In the same way, the use of the human form as a pillar of a porch, which is familiar to us from the Erechtheum, we now know to have been borrowed from early Ionian art, since it occurs in the case of the Cnidian and Siphnian treasuries at Delphi. This must also be classed as an aberration, as must the doubled line of frieze on the entablature of the archaic temple at Assos in the Troad. The interesting point is that the vitality of architecture made it set aside these mistaken departures and come back to the better line of development.

All the parts of the temple may be considered in another light, that of origin and derivation, rather than in that of reason and idea. In regard to origins, the most striking fact is the double derivation of the temple, and the marked difference in type between the Doric and the Ionic varieties. Both show a great influence of wooden construction; but while the Doric belongs to Greece proper and seems to continue the line of Mycenaean structure, the Ionic was developed on the coast of Asia Minor. The Corinthian style was but a variety of the Ionic, late in use, but going back to a not late type, perhaps originating, as M. Choisy thinks, in columns adorned at the top with metal decoration. Vitruvius speaks of the Doric style, with its massive simplicity, as essentially male, and of the slimmer and more highly decorated Ionic as in character female. M. Choisy has acutely traced many of the peculiarities of Ionic architecture to the smallness of the wooden beams used in its early efforts, whereas the Dorians, dwelling in a better wooded country, used from the first more massive beams. Another characteristic difference between the styles is that the Dorian architect was content with painted bands of decoration; the

Ionian architect, more ornament-loving and luxurious, worked out the lines of decoration in relief.

Side by side, with only a moderate amount of interaction, the two styles develop. And so regular and uniform is their

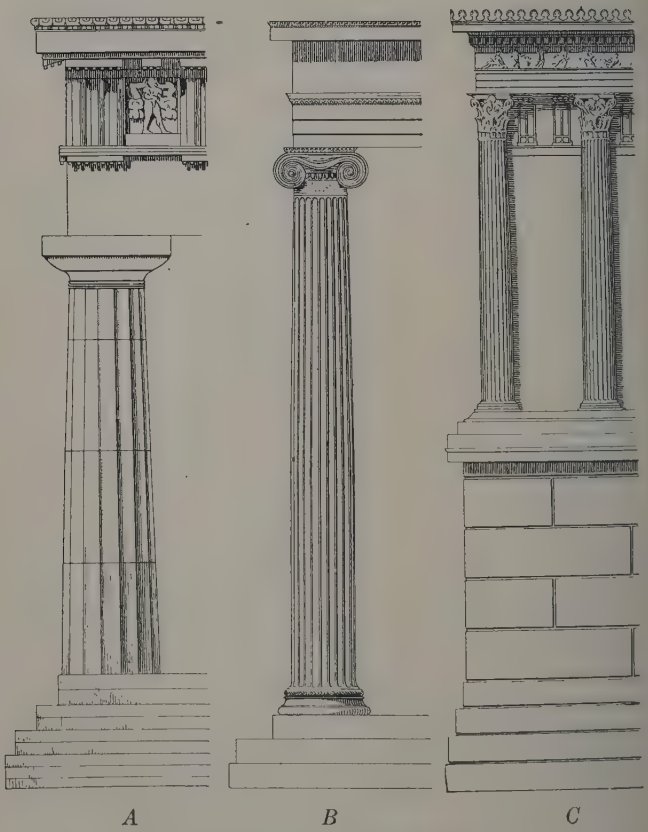

FIG. 4.—Doric, Ionic and Corinthian columns.

development, that with the help of a few temples of known date to serve as fixed points, it is possible to tell the period of a Doric or an Ionic temple within no wide limits. When temples are repaired, the repairs, as in the case of English cathedrals, are in the style of the time in which they took place.

We may observe how the Doric capital not only marks a transition from upright lines to horizontal, but also preserves the form of the wooden capital in the Mycenaean palace; how the triglyphs are descended from upright beams, and the metopes which they separate were originally open windows. We may trace the gable form of the roof to wooden construction, as opposed to the flat roof of clay which is still common in western Asia. No one, of course, would suppose that reason and idea can find expression in a building, save by using existing materials of construction or adapting recognized ways of building to new materials. Slowly, age by age, the idea more fully penetrates the material, and uses it more freely to express itself. And in some particulars reason seems never to have fully mastered the material. For example, in regard to the lighting of the temple, we are at present unable to see how it was satisfactorily accomplished. The Greeks rejected the system of lighting by leaving spaces between the triglyphs, which seems the natural plan. They rejected, in the majority of their great temples, the system of hypaethral lighting by leaving an open space in the midst of the roof. Whether they thought that the light which came in at the open door was sufficient, whether they had some system of basilican lighting, or whether they admitted light through semi-transparent roofing slabs of marble, is at present doubtful.

In the colouring of their temples the Greeks undoubtedly used paint which we should call glaring, and tolerated juxtapositions which would offend our eyes. Their principle, indeed, was not to colour large surfaces with an even wash of paint, but to pick out in colour borders and small members of archi-

tecture, as well as spaces which served as a background to sculpture. But even allowing for this, we should call their colouring harsh.[1] It would seem that the modern eye is as much more sensitive than the Greek in the matter of colour as the Greek eye was more sensitive than the modern in matters of form. But we must remember that races used to a bright sun and a clear light can endure far more vivid colouring than peoples who dwell amid comparative darkness. And the Greek senses, though keen, were fresher and less wearied than ours. Even now peoples who live simply in the presence of nature have not the same love as the educated for half-tones and gentle transitions. Nor, in fact, has nature.

M. Boutmy has well pointed out that, in architecture, as in other fields of activity, the Greeks had the defects of their qualities. Their forte was fine sense and straight reasoning; but these qualities often passed into the excess of delight in merely perfect technique and a desire to reduce everything to logical schemes. We see the working of the last-named tendency in the rigid classification of temples by the orders as Doric, Ionic and Corinthian. In earlier temples, such as those at Paestum and Agrigentum, the architect has a freer hand. But as time went on, rule became stricter. The three styles are properly styles of pillars; but the Greeks could not resist the tendency to reduce all architecture, so to speak, to the key of the kind of pillar used. Thus it comes about that in the great age it is possible, if one has, in addition to the ground plan of a temple, a few small fragments of its architecture, to restore the whole, within narrow limits, with certainty. One sees how this excess of schematism and regularity must have strangled all vigour and originality of design.

An American archaeologist, Mr. Goodyear, has argued that

[1] See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, art. "Polychromie," or the plates at the end of the second volume of *Olympia*. The terra-cotta decoration of temples has preserved its colours, but the painting of stone and marble now exists only in the shape of vestiges.

optical corrections like those to be observed in the Parthenon are to be traced in St. Sophia at Constantinople, St. Mark's at Venice, Notre Dame at Paris, and many other of the greatest of mediaeval buildings. Mr. Goodyear is disposed to think that there was a continuous tradition downward from classical times; but it is perhaps safer to see the working of a similar spirit in great ancient and mediaeval buildings, before the objective spirit of modern science dominated architecture, and the purposes aimed at in buildings became more clearly conscious. This manner in construction may be not unfairly compared to the rhetorical manner which prevails in Greek literature, in history and philosophy as well as in oratory and poetry, and which also was one of the bequests of the ancient to the mediaeval world. The Greek artist, like the Greek writer, aimed not at rigid adherence to the truth, but at producing a certain effect on human beings. This is at once his weakness and his strength. It is his weakness when he passes from rhetoric to sophistic, flatters the weaknesses, and uses the follies, of mankind to win his own way. But it is his strength when he builds on a broad and solid basis of human nature which is universal and permanent. For the world and nature only exist for man as they are reflected in the human mind; and to recognize this fact is the first law of art as of all practical pursuits in the world.

In the third point of view, as a satisfaction to the emotions and the religious needs of mankind, it must be confessed that the Greek temple was by no means the peer of the Christian cathedral. A mystical temperament could not but be chilled by its bright intellectualism. There is in it nothing of the dim religious light due to stained windows. There are no soaring heights which seem to bring heaven nearer. As the mediaeval organ was superior to the Greek lyre and flutes, so the spiritual nature of man would usually find more satisfaction in mediaeval richness and complexity than in Greek directness. But we must not on that account overlook the great

qualities of the Greek construction. Human nature is a vast thing of varied possibilities, and succeeding ages make the work of this people and period or of that the most important for progress. We must remember that our ancestors of the seventeenth century considered a whitewashed barn a more suitable house of prayer than a gorgeous cathedral. And the Gothic cathedral, though it embodied the religion of the northern races, was never appreciated by the ruling powers of the Roman Church. The age of Napoleon attempted in the Madeleine to adapt the forms of the Greek temple to Christian worship. And though the Madeleine and other attempts of the kind cannot be called successful, it would be rash to say that when architecture once more succeeds in living fashion to produce a building really consonant with the religion of the twentieth century, such a building will owe nothing to the Parthenon.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSE AND THE TOMB

We naturally and almost necessarily derive our notions of Greek architecture from the Temple, for the temples are by far the most important and interesting buildings which have come down to us. In just the same way we derive our knowledge of Gothic art from the cathedrals and churches which were so abundant and so stately, and which have survived the contemporary secular buildings, as religious ideas, beliefs and institutions are always more durable than those which serve only the secular needs of every day. But in the case of both ancient Greece and mediaeval Europe, religious architecture and secular architecture really exhibited the same principles and were developed on similar plans. We have still among us the ruins of mediaeval castles. And some Greek buildings of secular character still survive in mutilated form. A notable example may be found in the Propylaea of the Athenian Acropolis, which served as a magnificent porch at the gate of the sacred place of Athena, and as a picture-gallery, but was not closely related to religion. Another building, perhaps of non-religious character, which surprises us by its beauty, is the circular tholos at Epidaurus. One of the so-called temples of Paestum, having in front an uneven number of columns, and so deviating from the fixed form of the temple, may not have been an abode of the gods. These buildings, however, are so similar to temples in construction and decoration that they do not require a separate discussion.

More distinctive are the military works of the Greeks and their theatres.

Of several Greek cities, notably of Messene, a great part of the circuit of the walls, with the towers set at intervals to strengthen the walls, and to provide nucleus-points for defence, still remains standing. At Syracuse we can trace at least the plan of the great fortress of Euryelus, built by Dionysius at the most assailable point of his wall of circumvallation. These, however, were military constructions intended solely for practical ends. The impression produced by them, especially at Messene, is very noble and harmonious. But the good taste of the Greeks preserved them from any attempt at beautifying by sculptural decoration fortifications which could only be connected in the mind with hostile attack and fierce sortie.

More nearly related to the gentle and pleasurable side of life were the theatres. In recent days, partly in consequence of the interest aroused by the question whether or not the Greek theatre had a raised stage, the theatres on a multitude of Greek sites, at Athens, Epidaurus, Megalopolis, Oropus, Ephesus, Pergamon and a host of other cities, have been carefully excavated. Here again the beauty of form, especially in the case of the exquisite theatre of Epidaurus, is a matter for wonder. The slope of a hill is so used as to diminish to the utmost extent the labour of construction; the arrangement of the seats and the construction of the stage-buildings combine in the highest degree simplicity and practical convenience. But in theatres no less than in fortresses artistic adornment would have been felt to be out of place. The theatres were dedicated to an art, but it was the art of play-acting, and any use of plastic art which could in any way interfere with or come into competition with that special function would have been worse than out of place. A few statues of great playwriters decorated the auditorium of the Athenian theatre of Dionysus from the fourth century B.C. onwards. The reliefs which at present occupy there the front of the stage date only from the Roman age, and were so little regarded that when a subsequent fashion reduced

the height of the stage, the heads of the figures in relief were remorselessly cut off. The front of the stage in other theatres was only adorned with columns at intervals.

Of the dwelling-houses we have only ground plans, save at Pompeii and a few other places accidentally preserved from the ravages of time. The street façades were always of the simplest kind possible. Not only would an elaborate frontage savour of overweening pride, almost of impiety, but in the frequent faction fights and insurrections they would mark the houses to which they belonged as objects for attack. Luxury was reserved for the interior, which was shown only to friends and visitors. In the early age of Greece even interiors were plain; art worked in the service of the Gods rather than in that of the wealthy. Alcibiades, the leader of fashion and corrupter of the primitive simplicity of manners, set the example of having the walls of his rooms painted by Agatharchus, one of the most noted painters of his day. But the fashion spread very slowly; and the evidence of Pompeii indicates that even in the third century the usual adornment of wealthy houses was rather by inlay of slabs of variegated marble than by painting or sculpture. This rule of simplicity did not extend to the utensils used. Vases in precious metal or in pottery, chairs and couches, hangings and coverlets, were doubtless of great beauty. But the great art of Greece belonged to the temple and the market-place, the public picture-gallery and the council-house; not to mere individuals, however well they were prepared to pay for it.

After Alexander, with the growth of private fortunes and the spread of individualism, the state of public opinion in all these matters underwent a gradual change. Of the Hellenistic age, however, I do not treat in the present volume.

Scarcely less important than the temple to the student of Greek art is the Greek Tomb. Temple and tomb have a com-

mon origin in the dwelling-house of early times. Nor was there any strong line of separation between the abode of one of the patron gods of a city, and the resting-place of a hero who was venerated by a community, a clan or a family. Some buildings, indeed, such as the beautiful Nereid monument of the British Museum, while possessing most of the architectural features of a temple, were really tombs, erected over the ashes of distinguished rulers.[1]

It is a difficult question in what degree the accepted religion of Greece, the national Pantheon, arose out of fetichism and in what degree out of that ghost-worship which we find among all peoples at a low level of culture. The probability is that some of the deities, notably Dionysus, were more closely connected with the worship of the dead than those radiant personalities, such as Apollo and Athena, which seem to belong almost entirely to the sphere of heaven, and to be free from shadows of the underworld. This, however, is a speculation into which we cannot here enter. What is certain is that not only in the misty dawn of Hellenic history, but also in the times of greatest intellectual and artistic perfection, the dead were thought of as by no means removed from communication with the living. The pages of Pausanias abundantly testify to the veneration paid in all parts of Greece at the tombs of those to whom the gratitude of the living was due for notable achievement or beneficent invention. In Sparta, as we should expect of the most conservative of Greek cities, the hero-ancestor was always present to the minds of the citizens, whether in war or peace. Castor and Pollux, Menelaus and Helen, Lycurgus and the originators of great families, took part in all the affairs of the State. Even at Athens, comparatively progressive and more disposed to the enjoyment of the present than to dwelling on past or future, some festivals, notably the Anthesteria and

[1] Books relating to the art of the tomb are: P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*; M. Collignon, *Statues funéraires dans l'Art grecque*.

Genesia, were commemorative of the departed, and every clan and every family at certain seasons held solemn feasts of communion between the dead and the living.

Thus the veneration for the dead, and the worship offered at the tomb, were important influences in the development of Greek civilization. We have to see in what ways they found a manifestation in Hellenic architecture and sculpture. The sculptural adornment of the sarcophagus or coffin, which was a prominent motive in Egyptian art, and in that of Syria and Lycia, was in Greece very rare. But in other directions the artistic sense of the Greeks occupied itself freely with commemoration of the dead.

I will treat successively, though of necessity briefly, of the influence of ancestor-worship on architecture, sculpture and painting.

I have observed that the great tombs of Greece followed in the main the same architectural ways as the temples. There was, however, in the general forms of the two classes of monuments one marked difference. The temple rested upon the ground, or rather on a low platform approached by a short flight of steps. With a few exceptions, such as the temple of Apollo at Miletus, there do not appear to be any underground cellars. Even at Delphi, where the excavators had naturally expected to find some secret cavern, none existed. In the tomb, on the other hand, any building of temple-like construction was really subordinate to the abode of the body of the deceased. Thus such heroa as the Mausoleum, the Nereid tomb in the British Museum, and the monument surmounted by a huge lion at Cnidus, erected by Conon the Athenian after his victory there, were all composed of two parts, a solid structure enclosing the tomb itself, and an erection on the top of this made into an artistic memorial of the dead, and probably in some cases used as the place for the ceremonies of their cultus.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Greek tomb to the student of ancient life and art. The tomb did not indeed occupy the care and thought of the Greeks to the same degree that it did those of the Egyptians. In that old world empire the tomb, as the eternal abode, seems to have overshadowed all the events and purposes of the brief terrestrial life. Every man of position and wealth seems to have made it one of the chief purposes of his life to secure an ample and undisturbed place of perpetual rest, prepared during his life, and commended to the care of his heirs, until the whole country became a continuous cemetery, and the dead elbowed the living out of whole tracts of country, and withdrew from use a considerable proportion of the wealth of the community, or would have done so, but for the perpetual inroads of the tomb-breakers. In Greece, in this matter as in all others, the strong practical sense of the people preserved moderation, and prevented extreme encroachment by the dead hand. But the archaeological record, though less rich and full than in Egypt, runs on from first to last in the graves; and preserves a contemporary record of art in all its branches from the statue down to the sherds of pottery and the work of the goldsmith and the maker of bronze utensils.

The rich and varied finds made by Schliemann at Mycenae, and by many other excavators in various parts of Hellas, have shown us how splendidly the wealthy nobles of the Mycenaean Age furnished the tombs of their heroes. With the coming in from the north of a comparatively poor and barbarous race, destined to be, when mingled with the native inhabitants, the ancestors of the Greeks of history, the graves completely change their character. The backward state of the arts among the new immigrants is indicated by the rudeness of the terra-cotta idols which they buried with the dead, and the barbarous helplessness of the pottery and bronze ornaments which were stored for their use. Later on, when art gradually revived, and pri-

vate life became more wealthy and luxurious, it never became the custom, as it had been in Mycenaean times, to furnish the grave as the palaces of the kings were furnished. We do not find in Greece as in Etruria, and in some degree in Sicily, great receptacles filled with the finest products of the potteries of Athens, and gold jewellery of most elaborate work. Certain classes of vases, such as the painted lekythi and unguent-vessels, are found in great numbers. Particularly rich in these charming little vases are the tombs opened in Euboea. But, generally speaking, the contents of the Greek tomb serve rather to date them and to throw light on funeral customs than to enrich our museums with marvels of delicate workmanship.

As a compensation, the sculpture of the tomb has come down to us in great plenty. The greater part of the National Museum at Athens is occupied with funereal sculpture, which interests and attracts all visitors in a notable degree. The smaller museums of Thebes, Sparta and other places owe their distinctive character to the same class of monuments.

Most primitive in idea, though not always in date, are the reliefs on which the deceased ancestor is seated in state to receive the offerings of his descendants, who, in fact, are sometimes represented, on a smaller scale, as approaching him with their gifts. Beside the ancestor, on some of the Spartan monuments, sits his wife as equal partaker of the offerings, — a pleasing indication of the honour in which women were held in Sparta, not merely for their own sake, but as mothers of the future race of citizens and warriors. The snake, the companion and friend of the dead, stands erect behind the pair. On others of the Spartan reliefs appear figures of the horse and the dog, who had served their master well during his life, and perhaps accompanied him to the world of shades. These reliefs, the work of a race never noted for artistic talent, are interesting from the point of view of technique; the marble is cut in several distinct planes, like an onyx; and the fact is notable that every

feature and limb is represented either in a fully frontal or in a completely profile aspect, a system of which I shall speak in more detail hereafter. But the subject is still more interesting;

FIG. 5.—Spartan hero and his wife.[1]

these reliefs were no mere adornments of the tomb, but monuments of family worship, marking the place where the ghosts actually awaited the tribute of their descendants.

In another class of reliefs also connected with the veneration of heroes, and found mostly in districts of North Greece, such as Thessaly and Boeotia, still greater prominence is given to the

[1] Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, Pl. II.

horse. In all European countries the possession of horses has been the mark of an aristocratic or knightly caste; and in Greek religion it belonged notably to those leaders in war who had become demigods or heroes, who had been, so to speak, canonized by popular belief and trust. In the reliefs of which I speak, the hero rides or leads his horse, and is often greeted by a lady of more than human stature who pours wine for him, a lady who in this case can scarcely be regarded as his wife, but must rather be an emblem of his reception into the abodes of the immortals, as Hebe received the deified Heracles.

FIG. 6.— Horseman relief: British Museum.[1]

A class of reliefs which belongs to a much later time represents the deceased as reclining on a couch, and being plied with food and drink by votaries. This seems to indicate a revival rather than a survival in later Greece of the ancestor-worship which had in the period of highest idealism passed into the background, and been overshadowed by the bright religion of Olym-

[1] *Sculptured Tombs*, p. 96.

pus. The great abundance and wide distribution of these monuments is an important fact in religious history, one among many facts which show how, towards the beginning of the Christian era, old world beliefs were reasserting themselves with the decay of what may be called the established or orthodox pantheon, the community of deities which still lives for us in the Homeric poems, and in the splendid works of literary and plastic art, which can only fall into neglect when modern civilization is suffocated by materialism, or tries to forget what is most noteworthy in the past history of Europe.

FIG. 7. — Reclining hero, with worshipper: Athens.

Let us turn to Athens, where, of course, the forces which have made the art of Greece immortal had fullest play, and trace there the working of the motives and ideas which informed the sculpture of the tomb. Our knowledge in this province is greatly furthered by a very fortunate accident, which has pre-

served for us, almost uninjured, a great part of the important cemetery which lay just outside the gates of the city on the sacred road which led to Eleusis. On some occasion, which we cannot with certainty identify, the Athenians covered with a deep layer of earth the surface of this cemetery; and the monuments which it contained in their orderly arrangement lay hidden, and so escaped the devastation of Sulla and all the other calamities which have by degrees destroyed so much of the beauty and glory which once adorned the splendid city. Only the spade of the explorer has in the last half-century gradually brought again to the light of day the tombs which date from the earliest to the later period of Athenian history.[1]

Of all the light thrown by the excavations of this cemetery on the religious and social customs of the Athenians, this is not the place to speak. But we may well dwell for a short time on the vistas which it affords us of their artistic surroundings. Following the custom which is familiar to us from mentions in the Homeric poems, the wealthy Athenians of the earlier age of the city erected over the remains of their dead what they called a τύμβος or χῶμα, a mound of earth. This, however, as was natural in an age when democracy was growing, and when the leading men were no longer heaven-descended kings, but merely prominent citizens, became at a later time more moderate in scale. We find no longer great tumuli such as exist in the Troad and Etruria, nor conical underground buildings, such as the so-called tomb of Atreus at Mycenae, but only white mounds of bee-hive form. In the Piraeus street, in 1891, were found the remains of such an erection, about six feet in diameter, built up of earth and tiles, and covered with fine stucco.[2] It was in form like half an egg. On this mound would be set up in the seventh and sixth centuries one of those great

[1] A recent account of this cemetery will be found in Brückner's *Friedhof am Eridanos*, 1909.

[2] *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.*, 1891, p. 197. Compare *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 109.

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painted vases of the so-called Dipylon style, adorned with roughly drawn scenes from the daily life of the people, or the procession to the burying-place, and decorated with rude designs of geometrical pattern, vases destined to receive the offerings brought at set seasons to the tomb. Somewhat later, when the spirit which prompted the growth of Greek sculpture had begun to stir, there would be set up upon or beside the mound a marble slab as a more articulate memorial. This marble slab, perhaps at first a mere unadorned mark of interment, naturally tempted the sculptor, and by the end of the sixth century was commonly decorated with reliefs, representing the deceased in some characteristic occupation. From such simple beginnings spread the whole cycle of statues and reliefs which made the cemetery of Athens in the classic age a museum of artistic monuments.

Through the later fifth and the fourth centuries the splendour of sculptured Athenian tombs went on increasing. Expensive memorials, such as in the days of the Persian wars were reserved for groups of men who had fallen in battle, or citizens who had greatly distinguished themselves, were later set up as an outlet for the affection of surviving family or friends. Cicero gives us a brief, and no doubt an accurate, summary of Athenian legislation in the matter.[1] "Shortly after the time of Solon, on account of the increasing size of tombs, such as we see in the cemetery of the Ceramicus, a law was passed that no tomb should be set up of greater elaboration than such as ten men could accomplish in three days. Nor was such tomb to be adorned with plaster-work, nor were Hermae, as they are called, to be placed on it, nor were inscriptions in praise of the dead to be engraved save in the case of public tombs, and by one designed by public authority. . . . Demetrius (Phalereus), however, tells us that presently the splendour of funerals and tombs became fashionable to the same degree as is now the way at Rome. He

[1] *De legibus*, II., 26.

himself brought in a law to check it. . . . He diminished the cost of funerals not only by imposing fines, but even by restricting them in time; they were by law confined to the time before daylight. He also set bounds to fresh tombs; ordaining that on the tumulus of earth nothing should be set up but a little column not higher than three cubits, or a flat slab, or a water-pot. A special magistrate was appointed to superintend this matter." When Cicero speaks of plaster-work (opus tectorium) he perhaps means fresco-painting, for which a coating of plaster was necessary as a foundation, or his authority may have been really speaking of reliefs. When he speaks of a water-pot (labellum), he must mean not the hydria, which does not occur on graves, but the lutrophoros, or vessel for fetching sacred water from the Ilissus for the nuptial bath, a marble representation of which commonly stood on the graves of those who died unwedded.[1]

This statement is in general accord with the facts as revealed by the spade. Monuments in the archaic period are quite simple; but the severe law of Solon must soon have been somewhat relaxed, as we find on them, not indeed laudatory inscriptions, but simple reliefs or paintings representing the deceased. We possess only a few tombs of the time before the Persian wars. In the days of greater hardness and austerity which followed on those wars, the monuments of the dead are very simple; the inscription recording usually only the name of the deceased and of his father and clan. Then in the later fifth and the fourth centuries the art of the sculptor has fuller and fuller course; until in the age of Demetrius Phalereus, at the end of the fourth century, it meets with a decided check.

The usual and simplest form of the tombstone is the stele or mere upright slab, surmounted by a conventional acanthus design, whereon is engraved the name of the dead, and frequently, in the most unpretending style of art, a relief represent-

[1] *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 114.

ing him as standing or seated, armed for battle, or practising the exercises of the gymnasium, or merely at rest. Women are spinning, with the work-basket at their feet; girls hold dolls, boys some pet animal. There is little to indicate either death or a future life; the reference is to the past rather than the future. The religious complexion of the Spartan graves is absent; the Athenians took life as it came, without much thought of what might lie beyond. But as the size and costliness of the tomb increased, the sculpture of it became more complex. The larger monuments of the fourth century have the appearance of being abbreviated copies of temples. There is on each side a flanking pillar or pilaster, and above, an architrave on which is the modest and self-restrained inscription. One might at first sight suppose that the agreement with the general form of a temple or shrine showed a religious motive. But the unreligious character of the sculpture is in contradiction to

FIG. 8. — Tynnias, seated: Athens.[1]

[1] *Sculptured Tombs*, Pl. III.

this notion; and we may rather suppose that there is in reality merely a frame for a domestic interior, the architecture of temple and house being almost identical.

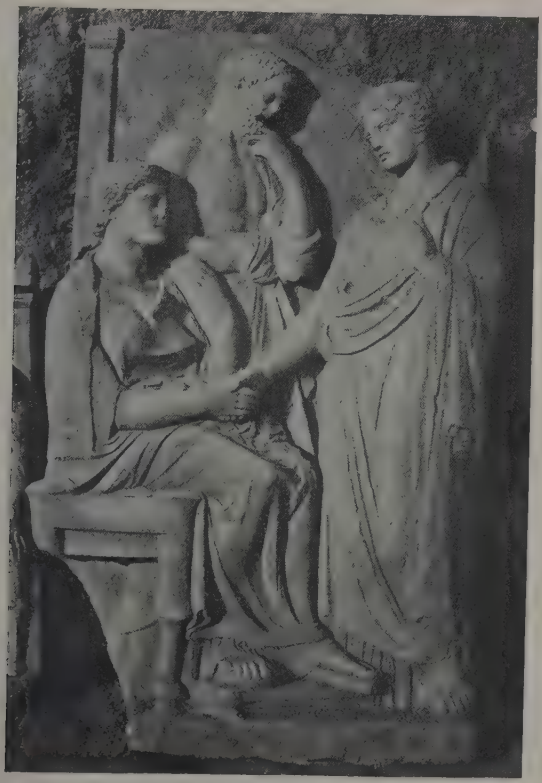


FIG. 9.—Family group: Athens.[1]

Within the frame made by pillars and pediment we have a relief, sometimes in higher and sometimes in lower relief, rep-

[1] *Sculptured Tombs*, Pl. XXIII.

resenting a scene of Attic daily life. Sometimes we have a young athlete with his trainer or with friends, his highly developed form devoid of all garments, practising the muscles of his limbs. Sometimes we have a horseman riding out, or overthrowing an enemy. Sometimes we have bearded men taking quiet leave of one another, as one sets forth on the last journey. But the most elaborate and pleasing scenes are those in which women figure. This will naturally surprise those who think of Athenian women as kept very much in the background, and of no great importance in the life of so intensely political a people as the Athenians. Certainly women were in Greece more limited in their occupations and more confined in their activities than are modern women. But the reliefs of the tombs prove that at all events in domestic life they were held in great honour and affection. The family groups in which husband and wife are hand in hand, or in which a mother is taking leave of the children grouped about her, are among the most pleasing works of ancient sculpture, free from all painful expression and from all exaggerated sentiment, but full of the poetry of the life of simple duty and natural affection. And since the art of Greece in more ambitious edifices is mainly concerned with the illustration of myth and mythical history, these peeps into the actual everyday existence of the people are of peculiar interest. Goethe, in a charming passage of his travels, has dwelt with poetic sympathy and insight on these reliefs, on their simplicity and moderation, their freedom from exaggerated pathos and all that is morbid, their diffusion of an aroma like that of a breeze blowing over a garden of roses. Some of them we know to come from the workshops of great artists, and there is no incongruity in finding in these a parallel to the Idylls of Theocritus.

The great cemetery of the Ceramicus bordered the road to Eleusis on both sides for some distance. Had the reliefs represented painful scenes, or their inscriptions dwelt too strongly on the illusion of life and its sad disappointments, they would

have furnished a chilling porch to the beauties of Athens; as they were, they merely cast a gentle shadow on the spirit, reminding passers-by of the transitory nature of life, and counselling them to make wise and temperate use of its enjoyments.

Two rather curious forms sometimes taken by the marble stele must be mentioned. Frequently it is cut in the shape of a lekythos or oil-flask, an allusion perhaps to the oil so constantly used by the Greek athlete in his training. And sometimes it takes the form of a water-pot, such as was used for the ceremonial bath before marriage. This kind of memorial, as has been already observed, was used only in the case of those who died unwedded, death being looked on, in a poetical figure which was taken with some literalness, as a marriage with the god or goddess of the lower world. These imitations of vessels in actual use were carved with inscriptions and with scenes from daily life just like the oblong stelae.

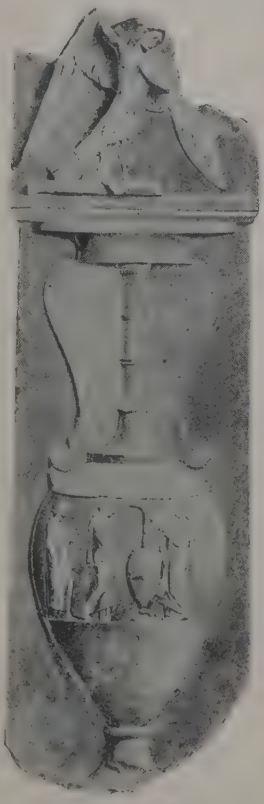


FIG. 10. — Water-vessel on tomb: Athens.[1]

On none of these monuments is there any serious attempt at portraiture. The generic always attracts the artist of early Greece more than the individual. And there was current a feeling with which we may well sympathize, that in dying a man or woman was loosed from the defects of individuality, and

[1] *Sculptured Tombs*, Pl. IV.

made part of the larger spiritual life. Thus the scenes are always rendered with a view to the suggestion of ideas rather than to the recording of facts. The worthiest occupations of life, scenes of greeting or of parting, family groups, such are the constant themes of the funereal sculptor; and that the scenes are not monotonous and are constantly varied in detail is a mark of the perpetual youth and freshness of Hellenic sculpture.

Some of the stelae of Athens were not sculptured, but adorned with painting. But the painter takes the same subjects as the sculptor; and between a painted relief and a painting in which the style is very similar to that of a relief the difference is not great. If the colours, or even the outlines, of the paintings were well preserved, these stelae would help us in our studies of the development of the painter's art; but unfortunately this is not the case. Recently at Pagasae in Thessaly, there have been found, built into the walls of Turkish fortifications, a great number of painted tombstones of various dates.[1] Most of them are, as we should have expected, obliterated; but a few are fairly well preserved, and of interest, although naturally the artists employed on this kind of work were of mediocre talent.

Since the facts of the deaths of relatives and friends, and the feelings of sorrow and vacancy which they arouse, are the same in all ages, it is tempting for a moment to compare with the cemeteries of Athens those of our own day. These latter are of course informed by the sentiments of Christianity. The hope of a bliss beyond the grave, and of a joyous meeting on the other side, have been for ages far more vivid in the Christian Church than they were among the Greeks, who seemed to St. Paul to sorrow as those who had no hope. The prospect of a dwelling in the Elysian fields could scarcely be sufficiently attractive to rob death of its harshness. Yet we know that in some cases it was effective. The Antigone of Sophocles ex-

[1] Some are published: see *Ephemeris Archaiologike*, 1908, Pl. I–IV.

presses the conviction that if she failed in family duty to her dead brother's body, she could not meet her father and mother in Hades. Socrates, in the Platonic *Apologia*, speaks with enthusiasm of the prospect of meeting in Hades Orpheus and Homer and other prophets of old. Many other passages to the same purpose might be cited.

Thus it is natural that some archaeologists should have seen in the family groups of the Athenian cemeteries scenes of reunion in Hades rather than mere memorials of the past. This view, however, cannot be maintained. The scenes predominantly represent farewells, not meetings. There is spread over them an air, not of joyousness, but of sadness, greatly tempered as it is. Any notion that the reference is to future reunion is indeed put out of court, if we consider the sepulchral inscriptions which are rare in the fourth century, but become more frequent in the Hellenistic Age.

It is always enlightening to compare the works of Greek art with those of literature. The literature which should be specially compared with the grave-reliefs is the charming memorial epigrams of the *Anthology*. In the earlier age these are of wonderful simplicity. What could be more direct than the verses of Simonides set up over those who had fallen at Thermopylae: "Go tell at Sparta, thou that passest by, that here obedient to her laws we lie." No sentiment as to the beauty of patriotism, no promise of eternal fame, no hint of future reward; only the eternal fitness of obeying the law at all costs, the duty which is so nobly enforced in that immortal dialogue, the *Crito*. Epigrams of the Hellenistic Age are naturally more ornate; of the verses of such writers as Menander and Leonidas of Tarentum it has been beautifully said that they are trifles, but roses. But even these productions of a later and more sophisticated age have the same simple charm as the sculptured reliefs. They do not attempt either to stir painful re-

membrance, or to point a religious moral; they only, so to speak, hand one a cup of the nectar of life. They remind one of the truly Hellenic sentiment of Spenser: "A grain of sweet is worth a pound of sour." [1] The earlier epigrams usually dwell only on the history of the deceased, or the circumstances of his death; the later give utterance to the widespread notion that he or she becomes united in a sort of wedlock to the deities of the lower world. Some speak of the human spirit at death in the language of pantheism or of the Mysteries, as returning to its divine source, but not as consciously passing into a higher plane of personal existence.

But if we turn from the strictly religious aspect of ancient and modern cemeteries to their aesthetic charm, the balance is all on the Greek side. Not only are the reliefs and figures of our graveyards the work of inferior artists, but in their monotony and frigidity they lack all attraction. Symbolic flowers, conventional figures of Christian virtues, insipid angels, are among their better forms: while realistic portraits, or even photographs of the dead, give a painful though commonplace aspect to the crowded rows of memorials in granite and marble. Here and there a sculptor has been set consciously to copy the design of a Greek tomb; and such monuments appear among the rest like gleams of sunshine on a cloudy day. The occasional beauty of an inscription may temper the commonplace or relieve the monotony of our acres of stone; and the divine emblem of the cross gives them a serious consecration. But few people would care to linger there apart from personal motives.

A noteworthy respect in which modern sepulchral art most clearly shows a loftier range of feeling than ancient, appears on the graves of those who have fallen in battle. The Greeks on such graves usually represented the deceased as in armour, and charging in the full tide of victory; they never depicted him as overthrown or dying. On modern monuments

[1] There is a chapter on these epigrams in my *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*.

the death of a hero is represented as the consummation of a noble life and a kind of apotheosis. The Greeks avoided the fact that death is necessarily a kind of defeat, which fact we by a nobler impulse transform. Here we have, at least in idea, the better of them. But in the depicting of a domestic interior, of a parting of friends, of the relations of children to a mother, their art is infinitely more graceful and noble, because more self-controlled, and more fully aware of its due limits.

CHAPTER V

FORMATION OF ARTISTIC TYPES

It has been well observed by Brunn, the most illustrious exponent of Greek art in the last generation, that in the matter of art the Greeks proceeded on much the same lines as they followed in the creation of a literature.

Before the Greeks came upon the stage of the world, chronicles existed, and myths, and hymns to the Gods. But literature in the true sense of the word did not exist. And when literature began to appear, the letters in which it was written were borrowed from other peoples, mostly from the Phoenicians. But the Greeks used those letters in their own way, to express their own ideas, so that Greek poetry and oratory and history and philosophy, while they incorporated some of what was passed on from the older peoples of the East, were genuine and undoubted embodiments of the Greek spirit.

Greek art arose in the same way. Before the seventh century sculpture and painting were well known in Egypt and Babylon. The early art of Mesopotamia mostly runs parallel to the chronicles of the kings, and records in a kind of picture-writing their achievements. The art of Egypt is also in part of this historic character; but it is also largely devoted to the service of religion. Both of these regions developed a kind of art suited to their needs, and of great interest. But to us it is dead; it reached its apex and declined; its value to the modern world is only historic.

We have learned from the researches of Dr. Schliemann, Sir A. Evans and others, that in Greece and the Greek islands

there existed in the second millennium B.C. an attractive and striking art, which in some ways stood at a higher level than those of Egypt and Babylon in the same age. Some of the wall-paintings and reliefs of the palace at Cnossus, and such lesser works of art as the cups from Vaphio, are in feeling for nature and decorative skill superior to the productions of the great Empires of the East. This class of monuments ceased to be produced when the Greeks as a race of simple manners and crude civilization came in from the north, and destroyed the great palaces and wealthy cities of the Mycenaean Age. Here and there works, such as the Lion-Gate of Mycenae, survived into the historic age. And as the Mycenaean people were probably not exterminated, but absorbed, some of the skill of hand and eye which had found scope in the monuments of the prehistoric age may have been of avail in aiding the rise of an art which was essentially Greek.

But Greek art, as we know it, is a profoundly original and characteristic development. Certain decorative forms, derived from the lotus, the rose and the palm, the Greeks seem to have adopted from Oriental art. The palaces and carvings of Egypt and Cappadocia may have impressed them and stimulated their ambition. But their sculpture and painting are, from the sixth century onwards, original and native. They completely differ in character from all that had gone before. We can trace Greek ideas working through and moulding art; so that its history is that of a gradual development, until it reaches a level as high as the literary level of Sophocles and Thucydides and Theocritus.

Most peoples have made rude representations of the human form to stand for gods or men. From that general level the Greeks started. But even in the rough male figures of stone of the sixth century there is something which is purely Greek. It is because of this determined originality, because they were not content to rest in and imitate the works of those whom they

regarded as barbarian, that the rise of Greek Art was so slow. Other peoples of inferior artistic capacity, such as the Etruscans, were more apt at copying the careful and stylish reproductions of the monuments of the East brought to them by Phoenician traders. But the Greeks, instead of travelling in the facile paths of imitation, were determined with perseverance to hammer out a style of their own. In some respects this obstinacy told against them. The artists of Cnossus represented the muscles of arms and legs better than Greek artists of the sixth century. The decorative patterns on Minoan vases have a freshness and vigour of style to which Greek decorative art never attained. The lions on later Assyrian reliefs are better than any Greek lions, at all events until the Hellenistic Age. But these exceptions only throw into relief the vast superiority of Greek art of the fifth and following centuries over all that had gone before. It is superior because it is infinitely more human. It looks on the world in the light at once of fact and of idea, and compels us to look with it in sympathy and affection.

The earliest art which is really Greek, that of the so-called geometric ware of the eighth and seventh centuries, is far less attractive than that of the Minoans and Mycenaeans. The human frame is in it little more than a diagram, and the animal and vegetable forms are angular and unnatural. But it yet shows certain ethical qualities which give a promise of future greatness, careful measure and balance, self-restraint, rigid subordination of every part to the whole. One feels its ethical and racial superiority to the facile luxuriance of the Mycenaean Age.

It is given to every nation to embody and display to the world some side of the great formative tendencies which have led to the development of humanity. Each people can assimilate some of these better than other peoples. The manner in which the tendencies are displayed also vary from nation to nation.

Some nations have a genius for producing stable political institutions, some for building monuments destined to last almost for ever. Some have a turn for conduct, and set its principles on a permanent basis. Of all peoples the Greeks have been the most original and many-sided in their activities. In speculative thought or philosophy, in physical science, in oratory, in historic writing, they set the world going. But no development of theirs has been more characteristic and of more permanent value than their art.

What were the causes of this wonderful blossoming? Of course in the main they were of the spirit, and worked from within. But there were also external circumstances which made this working easier and more effectual. Something might be due to the equable and propitious climate of Greece, avoiding the extremes of heat and cold, and favouring a robust and harmonious physical development. Something might be due to the mere beauty of the country, its clear-cut mountains, its abundant fountains and streams, its favourable position in the ways of commerce and colonization. Certainly much was due to the physical beauty of the men and women, though the causes of that beauty cannot be determined. It is certain that other races have lived under as favourable conditions and not attained to the same physical perfection. It is better to speak of influences which can be traced with more certainty, the habits of the people and the nature of their religion.

No clearer and more definite cause of the excellence of Greek sculpture is to be found than lies in the athletic habits of the people. The athletic festivals of Greece were always religious in character; they were celebrated in the great national sacred places, and carried out in honour of Zeus or Apollo, Poseidon or Athena. But I think that in speaking of them as in origin religious we are transposing cause and effect, and conveying a false notion to a modern reader. For it was the deep-seated, largely unconscious conviction of the race that health and

beauty were favoured by athletic competitions, combined with the love of health and beauty, which made the Greeks believe that these sports were pleasing to the Gods.[1] It is more true to say that athletic sports had great effects on the moulding of the current ideas of the gods than that belief in the gods produced the athletic festivals. Religion in modern days has usually been confined to certain sides of human activity, the spiritual side as contrasted with the material side. But Greek religion, which in depth could not compare with Christianity, as it has usually been received, covered a wider field; so that every power and aptitude of man, and indeed every form of activity and enjoyment, was regarded as pleasing to the Gods, and was placed under their patronage.

Greek athletic sports differed from those of modern days mainly in three respects. In the first place, they were far more general. Those of our modern sports which are in most general vogue among young men, such as cricket and foot-ball, have very great social value, and are excellent for the promotion of health, but they do not strongly tend towards a beautiful and harmonious physical development. And track athletics and gymnastics are in use among the few only. But in Greece almost every young man who was not deformed in body and who was of free birth, spent a considerable part of the day in the gymnasium, in a variety of exercises which tended directly not only to the cultivation of strength, but to thorough development of every limb, and the elimination of weaknesses. In the second place, whereas in modern athletics only results are reckoned, and style is quite subordinated to effectiveness, in Greece style was greatly considered. The exercises, as vases prove, were commonly gone through to the sound of the flute, and grace of action was as much admired as force. In the third place, nudity and oil were regarded as essential to an athletic training. We can easily understand that when young men had to run and wrestle naked, they would be very desirous

to remove any obvious weakness and would avoid any habits which might in the result expose them to ridicule. What a chance the sculptor would have, when he could daily watch beautiful young bodies in every pose of strain and conflict! And the constant use of oil would preserve a beautiful and glossy skin.

The Greek sculptor or painter, who spent a great part of his day in watching the exercises of men, in seeing the most perfectly made of the youths in every pose of running, discus-throwing, or wrestling, would start with such a knowledge of the human frame as a modern artist can scarcely acquire. The modern sculptor, no doubt, knows more of anatomy than the Greek could acquire in the great age of ideal sculpture. But sculpture has to do with the surface, with what the eye can see; and a knowledge of the interior of the human frame carried to great detail may serve as much to mislead as to help. Greek statues in the Hellenistic Age show a knowledge of anatomy which is very exact; but no good judge regards them as on the whole preferable to the masterpieces of early art.

But the Greek artist was not content to reproduce the athlete of every day. He studied many forms, and tried by taking what was best in each to form an ideal. Or rather, he tried to form several ideals. For though strength and beauty of outline are marks of all fine athletes, it is evident that various kinds of exercise would produce varieties. The boxer would be of heavier build; the runner lighter and more supple. Most fully developed of all would be the pentathlos, the man who tried to excel in the five exercises of running, throwing the spear, hurling the discus, leaping and wrestling. Such men, as we know, were regarded as the flower of Greek athletes, and it was they whom the sculptors most closely copied.[1]

[1] This is how I render the statement of Pliny that the athletes who were thrice victorious were more closely copied in their statues (*Nat. Hist.*, 34, 16). The pentathlos who won in three of the above five contests took the prize.

Very different is the procedure of a modern sculptor, who has usually to seek his model among men of a low class, ill-fed, ill-trained, and debauched by bad habits, and is usually content to copy what he sees. We may find many deplorable examples in the exhibitions of the Royal Academy. On the other hand, we may find modern instances of the search for a type, especially in the works of Dr. Tait Mackenzie, who has used his knowledge gained from a long study of American athletes, to produce typical figures which may vie in beauty with those of Greek Hellenistic art. Such instances show us that athletic sports may in modern as in ancient days form the foundation for schools of sculpture. Dr. Mackenzie works by means of detailed measurements, and the proportions of his figures are reached by calculation of averages. The Greek artist may in some cases have so proceeded, but more usually, beyond doubt, he worked by the eye only, unconsciously taking the same line which the modern artist takes consciously.

While it was from the practice of athletic sports that the Greek sculptor took his start, the faculty of working for the ideal thus acquired was exercised in other fields. The representation of the female form in Greek sculpture is not so varied and masterly as is that of the male form; nor does it so early reach perfection; it is not until the fourth century that female types of supreme loveliness are produced. Though the massive beauty of the draped figures of the Parthenon Pediments is most impressive, the impression they produce is due at least as much to their drapery as to the figures which the drapery partly conceals and partly reveals. There are obvious reasons why the study of fine female models should be less easy. This is illustrated by the story that when the painter Zeuxis undertook to paint a picture of Helen for the people of Croton, he made it a condition that he should have an opportunity of studying the forms of the most beautiful girls of the city. He selected for detailed study five, whose names were handed down in honour to future generations.

Professor Brücke of Vienna has pointed out, in an admirable little work,[1] that one feature of Greek sculpture is what may be called the gradual accumulation of beauty. There are particular formations of the body which appeared to the artists of great intrinsic beauty. Such formations are in actual models rare; certainly they are very rare in modern days, but of course they may have been commoner among the Greeks. When these had once made their way into art, they were perpetuated from school to school, and became, as it were, part of the traditional stock of beauty. A few examples may make this clear. In ordinary men the abdomen is certainly not a point of beauty. But in well-trained young athletes the lines of the abdominal muscles are often of a pleasing pattern.[2] The modern eye, looking at such figures as the athletes of Polycleitus or the Apollo Belvedere, is apt to think that there is little in nature to justify such a fine scheme of lines. But Brücke[3] shows that among men who train the muscles of the lower part of the trunk, such as the gondoliers of Venice, a close approach to the forms usual in Greek sculpture may be observed. However unusual these fine forms may be in ordinary life, they belong to the ideal athlete, and the best athletes will tend to approach them. So in the case of women a particularly charming effect is produced when the line between breast and upper arm is not rigid, but has the gentle undulation in the midst so notable in the Aphrodite of Melos. It goes with a firm formation and high setting of the breast. Seldom, as Brücke remarks,[4] is it to be seen in the modern model, because it depends upon factors seldom found together. But it is occasionally to be found; its beauty is beyond question; and in Greek sculpture it is almost universal.

[1] *The Human Figure.* Trans. by W. Anderson.

[2] I would here refer to Professor A. Thomson's *Anatomy for Artists.* He has had the good sense to make his diagrams from photographs of University athletes.

[3] *The Human Figure*, p. 125.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

It may be objected that by putting together the excellences of various models an artist could only produce monsters, since nature works out each body on a consistent plan.[1] This objection holds good if outward beauties be gathered without principle, and mechanically copied. But if the artist has the power to go deeper, to see how nature works, and to enter into her spirit, he may succeed in producing, not a monster, but an ideal, free from the accidental defects of the individual figure. Nature, if one may venture to say so, in individuals fails fully to reach the perfection at which she aims. The artist who can recover the pattern according to which she worked may succeed in embodying it more perfectly in bronze or marble than nature has embodied it in flesh and blood. Such an artist would reach in a measure the ideal; and it is thus that the Greek artist, by a certain artistic intuition, did work. He was not content with what may be called aesthetic nihilism, which is willing to copy whatever nature may offer, whether good or bad. He did not care to perpetuate the mere spontaneous variations of the individual, but wished to select only such variations as were beautiful, and were on the road to physical perfection.

No doubt physical beauty appealed to the Greeks more than it does to us. No modern man, certainly no Christian, would regard beauty of physical construction and outward symmetry as of equal value with moral beauty, which may be found often in those of poor, and even deformed, physique. We appreciate more highly the beauty of the face, especially of the eyes and the expression, than that of perfect physical development. But a wise man would say: "This oughtest thou to do, and not to leave the other undone." Our physical organization is part of the conditions under which we live. Disease and weakness are evils as well as folly and sin. And we have only to look round us any day to see how the absurd vagaries of fashion

[1] This difficulty occurs to Lucian, *Icones*, 5.

and the want of healthy feeling for what is really beautiful depress the level of our lives. I venture to say that it would be far better for us if an admiration for what is healthy and robust had more power among us, more especially in the vitally important matter of sexual selection. There can be little doubt that the principles on which eugenic societies are founded have deep foundations in the nature of things, however crude at present may be the attempts to carry out those principles in practice. The danger of physical degeneracy, carrying with it in the long run every kind of degeneracy, hangs low over modern Europe. Our restless rushes from place to place, our reckless attempts to reach what we think advantageous or pleasurable for ourselves, make a gospel of rhythm and moderation seem poor and dull. It does not stir our jaded energies, or rouse us with a stimulating appeal. Yet unless we in some measure return to the artistic ideals of Greece, we may go from bad to worse. Overpowering ugliness of surroundings, physical degeneracy, nervous exhaustion leading to disease and to sterility, all these have, in spite of the efforts of a few, steadily gained upon us in recent decades, and the road which they mark leads to destruction. Those physicians who devote themselves to determining the conditions which lead to health, rather than to the patching up of those who have by indolence and want of self-control lost their health, do us infinite service.

I can but touch upon another possibility. Some of the evidence put together by Mr. Myers[1] seems clearly to indicate that mental suggestion made to women may modify the type of child which they produce. In this way the cultivation and admiration of the physical beauty of men and women may directly tend to the production of such beauty in the next generation. In the East pregnant women are anxious to gaze long and steadily at children who are remarkable for their beauty, and we cannot say that they are deluded. Among our-

[1] F. W. H. Myers, *Human Personality*, Vol. II., p. 57.

selves it is believed that the family type especially maintains itself among the old families which have in their living rooms many family portraits. And beauty in face and hands is far commoner than beauty in those parts which are hidden from sight by clothing.

CHAPTER VI

THE TYPES OF THE GODS

Though Greek art is based ultimately upon the physical beauty of the race, yet into its structure other elements are built. It is in a sense religious, but in what sense needs to a modern mind much explanation, the modern notions in regard to religion being very different from those of the Greeks.

Most of the great religions of the world are either hostile to plastic art, or at all events unjust to it. As we all know, the second commandment of the Jewish Decalogue absolutely prohibits the making of sculptural or pictorial representations of any creature. Of those who in our churches repeat the Commandment week by week, very few realize this fact, which shows with how little attention we regard words said in church. The Mohammedans take the Jewish view; and to the stricter of them any representation of a living thing is anathema, whence the terrible havoc wrought by the Turks among works of Greek art found by them. Early Buddhism and early Christianity did not condemn all plastic art; but they did not originate great schools of art; they accepted that which was in existence, and if they modified it, did so rather in the direction of inward meaning than in that of outward manifestation, their eyes being turned inwards towards the heart of man rather than outwards towards the world. But Greek religion was naturally closely allied with plastic art, and found in it one of its chief fields of manifestation.

It has been too much the custom with those who have written on Greek religion to treat it as an evolution in time; to regard

certain elements in it as belonging only to a very early age, and others as developed from these and taking their place at a later period. The fact is that different views and phases of religion coexisted in time, some being natural to the intellectually more advanced, and some to the intellectually more backward of the race. It is nearer the truth to regard them as belonging to strata of society in each age, rather than as belonging to all the people at successive ages. There were not indeed among the Greeks those immense differences in intellectual development between class and class which now are found in England, Germany and France, and which constitute an ever-present peril to society. In Greek cities, with their stirring political life and their constant throngings in the market-place, there was not the same contrast between stratum and stratum of the people. The extremes were nothing like so far apart. The poorest citizen might spend the morning in listening to the discourses of Socrates or Antisthenes, and the afternoon in discussing the most recent sculptural dedications. But yet the contrasts existed, in the temperaments if not in the surroundings of the citizens. And outside the cities was a population of peasants and farmers, absorbed in the operations of agriculture, and without opportunities for cultivating the mind.

Thus in the religions of Greece, as in those of modern countries, there were various strains. And some of these strains had far more affinity to art than others. We may distinguish four such strains. (1) In the deepest stratum of religion, perhaps the oldest, and certainly that which had most vogue in remote places and among the most backward of the race, lay the old-world belief in ghosts, in sympathetic magic, in woodland and agricultural demons. Such beliefs are found among most peoples at a low level of culture. We have heard a great deal about them of late years from the anthropologists, who roam from Britain to Japan, and from Patagonia to Kamchatka in the hope of finding primitive human beliefs enshrined in sur-

viving custom, as the remains of extinct animals are preserved in rocks. (2) Out of these primitive elements arose the mystic religions such as those connected with the worship at Eleusis and the Dionysiac societies, religions which dwelt mainly on the facts of defilement and absolution, on sacrifices of communion and the hope of a future life. These forms of religion had much more vogue in the later than in the greater times of Greece. They were like shadows, scarcely to be noticed when the meridian sun of Greek civilization was at its full height, but more prominent towards morning and evening. (3) The various schools of philosophy, which flourished after the time of Socrates, gradually formed a severe monotheism, full of ethical elements, which reached its utmost height in the writings of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.[1] This, however, was the religion of the few; it was above the head of the ordinary citizen. (4) The ordinary cultus of the gods of the Olympic circle and of the heroes, a cultus accepted by the cities, adorned with frequent pomps and shows, recognized by the poets, and in evidence on every side in temple and statue, festival and dedication.

Of these four strains in religion, it is the last-mentioned only which has much importance for art. The Greeks set themselves, from the sixth century onwards, to embody in painting and sculpture all that most stirs the religious feelings of men when they are at the stage of naturalism: the sun in its splendour, the moon in its gentle romance, the ocean and the river, the mountain and the forest. Their imagination peopled the mountain glens and the waves of the sea with an overflowing life crystallized in human forms. It found a natural and concrete expression for all that excites the wonder and delight of the child of nature in the presence of nature. The modern artist renders the features of nature as he sees them, adding no doubt to the scene something of human emotion, without

[1] See E. Caird, *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*.

which it would be uninteresting. The Greek translated those features by means of human parallels. The sun was a bright-haired god, driving his four fiery horses from rising to setting. The moon was a cold and chaste goddess, sometimes, however, stooping from heaven to earth, for the love of a shepherd or a hunter. The strength and untamed fury of the sea was incorporated in the figure of Poseidon, with deep chest, and unkempt hair like the drifting sea-weed. In the representation of some of the deities, especially of Apollo and Poseidon, there remained always some trace of this primitive naturalism. But as the race grew more civilized and ethical, and the deities were united into an Olympian society, under the presidency of supreme Zeus, the gods became more human as well as more humane and righteous. The myths told about them remained like fairy-stories at a barbarous level, but they were often interpreted in a moral and allegorical sense, just as in our days many people read in a spiritual sense the stories, not always quite edifying, of Jacob and Joseph, of Jael and Elijah. We see clearly from the writings of Plato and Sophocles how even gods who originated in naturalism could serve to give a sanction to morality, and a bond to civic life. In the case of many of the deities, especially the great trinity of Zeus, Apollo and Athena, the ethical and civic interpretation quite supersedes that which was more primitive, at all events on the surface of society.

Working on lines parallel to those followed by the statesman and the poet, the Greek artist took up the task of adding a certain degree of moral and spiritual elevation to mere physical beauty. In the sixth century the type of Apollo is scarcely different from that of the athlete, save that his long flowing hair reminds us that the hair of the sun-god stands for the rays of the sun. But in the time of the maturity of sculpture Apollo has a majesty beyond that of a mere human being. When the Apollo of the West Pediment was found at

Olympia, no one doubted that it was Apollo, and not, as Pausanias says, Peirithous. The Zeus and the Athena of Pheidias were far above the level of ordinary life, and ancient critics said of them that they not only embodied but raised the religious beliefs of the people. Of course to a modern eye, largely influenced by Christian ideas of religion, they seem somewhat fleshly. The Greeks stopped at a measure of moral and religious idealism with which plastic art could fairly cope. But this is not saying that their art was wanting in religion: they keenly appreciated some sides of religion to which we perhaps are indifferent, and indifferent to our loss.

Another thing which we must not forget is the close relation of the deity to the community. Greece was made up of city-states, of communities dwelling within boundary walls, and united in themselves by all sorts of ties, of language, of race, of history. They had common ancestors who were supposed to be still anything but indifferent to the prosperity and happiness of their descendants, and even sometimes came to their aid in battle. And alike the city, and the clans and families of which it was composed, united in common worship of ancestral deities, who represented the general life, and embodied the ideal personality of the community. Hera at Argos and Athena at Athens were especially representative of those cities. All through the history of Greek art Athena retains her arms, her helmet and spear, save in a few exceptional cases. Now an armed woman is totally foreign to all Greek ideas. And there is a curious inconsistency between the thoughtful face and rounded limbs of Athena and her martial equipment. We must never lose sight of the fact that Athena had at Athens become closely identified with the corporate personality of the city over which she presided. She had to embody that city in all its activities, in arms as goddess of victory, in arts as the mistress of poets and sculptors, while as Athena Ergané she presided over the industries of the town, and as Hygieia she bestowed

health and beauty. No Athenian who loved his city could speak with disrespect of Athena. Her worship was the means by which the general life came to the help of the individual.

It was a strong testimony to the value of the art-type of Athena, when the Romans adopted it for the impersonation of the great conquering city of Rome. They found no better way of fixing the eyes of the peoples whom they conquered on their august mistress. And at this day we have only to look at the reverse type of an English penny to see a figure of Britannia, who is a remote echo of the goddess of Athens. At the end of the fourth century, when Seleucus founded the great city of Antioch, the central point of its religion was the temple of the Fortune of the city, in which was placed the beautiful seated statue of the city by Eutychides. This was no mere embellishment, but an object of real cultus. We are told that it was held in highest honour by the people of Antioch; and it no doubt greatly helped them to realize the future which lay before the city, and to think highly of their destiny in the world.

The Zeus of Olympia was more than merely civic, he was national. He represented the Greek race as superior to the surrounding barbarians. In his worship Hellenes from the Crimea, from Cyprus, from Cyrene, and all the ends of the Greek world, became united in a close brotherhood. A journey to Olympia was as true a pilgrimage as is now a voyage to Mecca or to Lourdes. And the great statue in the temple at Olympia commended this spiritual relation to the eyes of all visitors, and made them feel its splendour.

In the writings of the orator Dio Chrysostom, expression is given to the feelings with which cultivated Greeks regarded the great statue. "Our Zeus," he says, "is peaceful and kindly to all, as beseems a ruler watching over a Greece without strife, and united." Pheidias set him up "gentle and dignified in form, raised above all pain, giver of life and all it needs, and all good things, father and saviour and guardian of all men."

Dio adds that "if a man were in sore anguish of heart, having encountered many mischances and sorrows in life, so that he could not partake of gentle sleep; if he came into the presence of this image, he would forget all the sadness and severity of human life." Another late writer, Maximus of Tyre, defends the veneration of images in words of wisdom. "The Greek custom is to represent the gods by the most beautiful things on earth, pure material, the human form, consummate art. The idea of those who make divine images in human shape is quite reasonable, since the spirit of man is nearest of all things to God, and most god-like."

Not only the Greek, but human nature everywhere is incurably anthropomorphic. Some of the greatest of Christian artists have tried to embody in painting the supreme Deity of Christendom. And where have they gone, where could they go for a model but to the ideal Father of Pheidias?

Thus art contributed, as well as literature, to the formation of a noble Pantheon. When we read in the pages of Pausanias of the archaic and unworthy tales told of the Gods in the various shrines which they possessed, we wonder that so intellectual and civilized a race as the Greeks can have borne thus to speak of celestial powers. And when we go over the ritual of cults celebrated in the frequently recurring festivals, even at so enlightened a city as Athens, we find them full of a not very clean symbolism, and kept on the level of the less refined spectators. But writers like Pindar and Aeschylus knew how to refine the legend or to interpret the ritual so as to raise them to an ethical level. Great sculptors moved on the same lines, so long as Greek polytheism was a living religion. It was largely due to them that general national types of the deities superseded the notions in regard to them which had been attached from prehistoric days to particular localities. And thus Hellenes dispersed over the shores of the Mediterranean could feel, when they met, that they had religious beliefs in common,

that Apollo signified for the whole race purification from guilt and the voice of higher wisdom which spoke in the oracles, and that the common paternity of Zeus gave to every one a standing of diginity in face of the unforeseen and scarcely comprehensible misfortunes and catastrophes of life.

FIG. 11. — Artemis; relief from Olympia.

The essential difference between the religious art of the Oriental nations, Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Hittites on the one hand, and that of the Greeks on the other was that, while the representations of the Gods in Oriental art were symbolic, in Hellenic art they were humanist. The Egyptian or Babylonic artist distinguished his gods and goddesses one from another by some symbolic mark, by the animal

heads which he put on them, by the attributes in their hands, or by their dress. Deities were depicted by them often in monstrous forms, part man and part beast, the combination having a meaning which only the priest could explain. If a Babylonic artist wished to depict the swiftness of a deity, he would give him wings: and these wings are not meant to fly with, but only to be worn as a sign. If he wished to represent a deity's power over the animal creation, he would place in his hands, in conventional or heraldic arrangement, a pair of lions, or of stags or of birds. In the place of animals thus carried we also find monsters such as griffins, who probably stand for evil demons.

In the earliest stages of Greek art, as indeed in the art of the Mycenaean Age, we find similar representations. For example, on a bronze plaque from Olympia (Fig. 11) we find a female figure bearing wings and holding in each hand by the hind leg a lion. With regard to the interpretation of such figures, Pausanias gives us valuable information. Speaking of the wooden chest dedicated at Olympia by the family of Cypselus of Corinth, and adorned with scenes from mythology, he observes:[1] "There is Artemis, who in consequence of some story or other, has wings on her shoulders, and bears in her right hand a panther and in her other hand a lion." In early Greek art, then, so Hellenic a deity as Artemis could appear in this strange foreign guise. At Ephesus, even in the time of St. Paul, the Greek inhabitants worshipped their Artemis or Diana in the form of a rude misshapen image, whose many breasts indicated the rich and abundant life of the valley of the river Cayster (Fig. 12).

FIG. 12. — Artemis of Ephesus.

[1] *Pausanias*, V. 19, 5.

As Greek art grew towards maturity, it discarded this inartistic and conventional symbolism. As Aristotle observes, a work of art should not be a symbol but a representation. It is true that the deities to the last, especially in their formal cultus images, retained attributes indicating their special provinces or functions; Zeus as master of the sky carrying the thunderbolt, Apollo as god of music the lyre, the huntress Artemis the bow, Hermes the herald's staff, and the like. Wings were still added in some cases: placed on the feet of Hermes they indicated his agility, placed on the shoulders of Eros they reminded men of the fleeting character of love. But these attributes were little more than survivals; in the meantime the Greek artists had discovered a more excellent way for indicating the character and the functions of the deities. It was a slow and gradual process, which we can still trace by the aid of extant works of art.

The later fashion was to incorporate in the human figures of the gods their character. When the barbarous people of Lystra saw the power of St. Paul over physical infirmity, they exclaimed: "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men." And it was in essentially human likeness that Greeks embodied the gods. The type of Zeus, the father of gods and men, was derived from that of the Greek citizen-father, as we see him in the Athenian sepulchral reliefs, seated among his children. Only in his fatherhood there is something more than human. The type of Apollo and of Hermes is that of the young athlete, in all the glory of perfect symmetry and agile force; only the face is not that of an ordinary athlete. The type of Aesculapius is that of the responsible middle-aged family physician idealized; that of Artemis is taken from the active virgins of Laconia, skilled in athletic sports, and ready with the bow. If we compare a fine later type of Artemis, the well-known "Diane de Versailles," with the early types of Artemis above-mentioned, we shall see how a mere external

symbolism gave place to an incorporation in the figure itself of its divine attributes. The swiftness of the deity is no longer represented by the addition of merely symbolic wings, but is seen in her tall and strongly knit frame, full of an active litheness. The power over the animal creation which belonged to the goddess is no longer represented by placing two lions or two stags in her hands, but by the deer which runs beside her, no longer a mere captive, but a willing votary. Even barbarous art might easily represent a deity of wild nature as drawing the bow, and such a figure may be found on Mycenaean gems.[1] The superiority of the Greek rendering lies in the harmonious and ideal character of the statue, which represents not a mere woman, but a being of perpetual youth and vigour. It differs from the works of barbarous art as a Greek poem differs from a rudely cut pictographic legend.

FIG. 13. — Artemis of Versailles.

[1] Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. II., 24.

Generally speaking, in later art the gods are almost wholly humanized. Most people will think that in the fourth century this tendency was, by Praxiteles and others, carried too far, so as to ruin the divine dignity. The Apollo Sauroctonus of Praxiteles is not manly nor serious; his satyr has nothing to distinguish him from a shepherd boy save the pointed ears; his Aphrodite is represented in the not very dignified occupation of bathing. After this somewhat frivolous treatment of the gods, a sign that belief in them was dying down, there was a reaction, and some of the divine types from the school of Lysippus and by Hellenistic artists are of more dignified character. And a certain degree of mysticism may be found in some of the new types, for example, in the head of Sarapis, the god of the world of the dead, or in the great group of Demeter and Persephone set up by Damophon at Lycosura in Arcadia, one of the seats of their mystic cult.

In some ways, no doubt, the spiritual and ethical level of modern Christianity is far higher than that of the Olympian religion. Such phrases as "loving the will of God," "the divinity of self-sacrifice," "the beauty of holiness," are at a higher level than the Greek. But the Greek conception that every act of life, all our emotions and energies, bring us into relations with the divine element in the world is one which we have almost forgotten, and which but for the present working of Greek literature in education we might entirely forget. And we see on all sides of us, beneath the thin crust of material civilization, tendencies which work in the direction of a much more backward religion than that of the Greeks. The materialized Catholicism of the peasants in remote districts in Italy or Syria is much on a level with the primitive beliefs out of which the splendid temple of Hellenic religion arose. Among ourselves, the fashionable women who resort to the fortune-tellers of Regent Street certainly cannot look down upon those who in Greece resorted to the oracles of Zeus and Apollo in honest search for the better line

of conduct. The individualists who feel no sense of duty to the state and society would be infinitely improved if they could find in the beauty of a statue an expression of the divinity of the common life of the city or the state. Many of the tendencies to be traced in our religious societies point backwards towards sheer barbarism. And the influence of many schools of modern art tells not merely towards artistic chaos but towards ethical degradation. Of course not all Greek art moved towards what was noble. Their lighter art often mixes up what is indecent with what is amusing. But the sculpture of the temple and the market-place in the great ages is as constantly ideal as the dramas of Aeschylus and Sophocles. In this respect no people that ever existed can be compared with the Hellenic race.

In the great work of Professor Overbeck on the types of the deities, the *Kunstmythologie*, we constantly find the question raised: What sculptor is responsible for the type of such and such a deity? Overbeck maintains that nearly always it is one or two great sculptors who fixed for all time the type of each, just as the Homeric poems fixed for all time the poetic character of many of them. Overbeck perhaps falls into the fault of over-schematizing. But still it is quite true that when once a high type had been fixed for a deity in sculpture, that type was seldom afterwards lost sight of or entirely superseded. At a moment which can be fixed, the fruit was ripe, and afterwards it began to decay. The types of Zeus and Athena were founded by the splendid colossal statues of Pheidias; the type of Dionysus was fixed for later art in the school of Praxiteles; that of Poseidon in the school of Lysippus. It almost seems that when once the national idea had been fully expressed by an artist whom it inspired, it receded like the sea when it has touched high-water mark.

The heroes of Greek legend and of ancestral cult are depicted in art at a lower level than the deities, indeed they appear as

what they were, men raised to a higher level by achievement and consecrated by death. In an art so ideal, and so much more fond of the type than of the individual, such heroes as Heracles,

FIG. 14. — Apollo and Artemis in a marriage procession. Vase at Berlin.

Jason or Achilles would naturally make their way into scenes of war or of achievement rather than contemporary men of every day. Exactly the same holds of the Greek drama, which was carefully raised above the level of ordinary life by the selection of

themes taken from myth, and the arrangement of dramatic costume and scenery so as to contrast with those of every day. At first the student of Greek art is surprised to find that in reliefs and vase-paintings the gods mingle freely with men, and at a hasty glance are not to be distinguished from them. But he soon realizes that by this custom the deities and heroes are not vulgarized; but the events of life are raised to an ideal level. If Apollo, for example, makes his appearance, lyre in hand, in a human marriage procession (Fig. 14),[1] he is represented as present not to the eyes, but to the spirit; his partaking of the ceremony shows that it has a religious side and is in accord with the will of the gods. If Dionysus comes to feast with a human votary, his presence shows that there is in mere human enjoyment a furtherance of life, which adds to happiness and is pleasing to superhuman Powers. The Greek lived in nearer and more equal relation with his deities than the severity of modern religion can well understand; at all events the severity of northern religion, for to this day the peasants of Italy and Spain live on terms of some intimacy with patron saints, who have in a great measure taken with them the place once held by pagan deities.

[1] *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1888, Pl. VIII.

CHAPTER VII

FRONTALITY IN GREEK ART

WHETHER, in dealing with the principles of Greek representative art, we should begin with sculpture or with painting, is not a question easy to decide. Painting is essentially a freer art than sculpture, and in all the changes and improvements by which art progresses toward its zenith, painting naturally takes the lead. To this general rule Greek art offers no exception. Polygnotus preceded Pheidias, and the impress which Pheidias placed upon art was in many respects originated by the Thasian painter. Painting at Pompeii has reached a degree of freedom and, so to speak, of modernity, which is never attained by ancient relief. Thus, if Greek painting were in our museums half as well represented as Greek sculpture, we should certainly prefer to treat first of the art of the brush. But unfortunately Greek painting is but very imperfectly known to us. We have to piece together its history from the designs of Greek vases and the frescoes of the Roman Age, whereas we have an abundance of really good sculpture from all ages of production. Sculpture, therefore, on the whole, claims precedence in our treatment. We shall, to begin with, speak of Greek art as a whole, and then take up successively sculpture and painting in their separate and distinctive developments.

In spite of what was said in the introductory chapter as to the diversity of a search into the *character* of a nation's art and a search into the *origin* of its art, it will be expedient, before treating of the phenomena of developed Greek art, to make inquiry into its earliest distinctive forms. For it is possible

that in the infancy of art the national characteristics may clearly be visible. But we shall only go back to the beginnings of the art which is distinctively Greek, not to that of the Mycenaean Age, which is informed by a spirit quite different from the Hellenic.

Considerable light has been thrown on the development of early sculpture and painting in relation to space and perspective by the writings of Professor Lange of Copenhagen and Professor Löwy.[1] Lange has expounded in detail his theory of *frontality* in early art, a theory of which Professor Furtwängler has observed that its discovery is like that of a law of nature.

This view must be set forth in Lange's own way. He observes that in all early statues in the round, including those of Egypt, Assyria and Greece, down to 500 B.C., a law is observed to the following effect: "Whatever position the statue may assume, it follows the rule that a line imagined as passing through the skull, nose, backbone and navel, dividing the body into two symmetrical halves, is invariably straight, never bending to either side. Thus a figure may bend backward or forward, — this does not affect the line, — but no sideways bending is to be found in neck or body. The legs are not always symmetrically placed; a figure may, for example, advance one foot farther than the other, or kneel with one knee on the ground, the other raised, but nevertheless the position of the legs shows the same line of direction as the trunk and the head. The position of the arms presents greater diversity, yet it is strictly limited by the attitude of the rest of the figure."[2]

The reader must turn to any representation of a human figure in the round, whether of Egyptian, Babylonic or early Greek work, for illustration of this law. (See next pages.) There may be a few exceptions, due to exceptional conditions,

[1] J. Lange, *Darstellung des Menschen in der ält. griech. Kunst;* E. Löwy, *Die Naturwiedergabe in der ält. griech. Kunst.*

[2] Lange, p. xi.

but in almost all cases this psychological law holds with a regularity almost as great as is found in the working of the laws of nature. One finds figures stooping, or kneeling, or in a variety of other attitudes; but the frontal law still holds.

The law of frontality is also illustrated by a passage in Diodorus (I., 98), who relates that two sculptors of the sixth century, Telecles and Theodorus, of Samos, were set to make a statue of the Pythian Apollo. "The story runs that one-half of the statue was made at Samos by Telecles, while the other half was fashioned at Ephesus by his brother Theodorus, and that when the parts were fitted together they joined so exactly that the whole statue appeared to be the work of one artist. . . . The statue at Samos, being made in accordance with the Egyptian system, is bisected by a line which runs from the crown of the head through the midst of the body to the groin, dividing it into precisely equal and similar halves."

When Diodorus says that this manner of representation is Egyptian and not Greek, he means that it was quite foreign to the later Greek art with which he was familiar. It does belong, as Dr. Lange has shown, to Greek art before 500 B.C.

A comment upon, or indeed an amplification of, the law may be found in an unfinished statue from Naxos, discussed by Mr. Ernest Gardner (Fig. 15).[1] In this figure any section cut horizontally is oblong in form, the front, back and sides almost flat, with little more than a bevelling at the corners. This seems to show that in producing the statue from an oblong block of marble, the artist may have proceeded by drawing in outline on the front and side of the block the front and side aspect of the desired statue, and then cutting right through the block, perhaps with a saw, in both directions, following the two outlines. Out of the mass thus produced, face, legs and arms would be roughly cut, the transition from front to side would be smoothed over, and the result would be approximately of the form required.

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XI., p. 130.

FIG. 15. – Unfinished statue, Athens.

Whether or not the sculptor actually took this course, it is the logical way of carrying out his design.

Figures thus worked are clearly thought out in two aspects only, the front and the side view. We may conceive them as built about two upright planes which cut each other at right angles. This is, as I have observed, a further development of the system of frontality.

In line with this unfinished statue is the further fact that, in Greek painting and relief, figures are almost always in early times represented as either full-face to the spectator or else in profile; a three-quarter view is almost unknown. And very commonly one part of the figure of animal or man is represented full-face and another part in profile, without any proper transition from the one aspect to the other. Examples abound. Very characteristic is the figure of a horse (Fig. 16) from a vase at Boulogne published by Dr. Löwy:[1] the back part of the horse is drawn in profile to the right, the head in profile to the left, while the front legs and forehand are facing the spectator. One of the metopes from Selinus (Fig. 17) will well illustrate the same rule. Here the upper parts of Perseus and Medusa, whose head he is cutting off, are full-face, the legs of both are in profile; the horse Pegasus is entirely in profile; Athena is full-face, except her feet, which are in profile toward the right. But in no case is there much attempt to mark the transition from one point of view to the other.

FIG. 16.

Of course sculpture, even in the latter part of the sixth century, did not always represent figures as merely standing, and made curious compromises in the attempt to represent them in various attitudes. It will be found generally that when fig-

[1] *Die Naturwiedergabe*, p. 44.

ures in the round are represented as running or reclining, they are intended to be seen only from the full front; for example, the Nike from Delos (Fig. 18) and the dying warriors of the

FIG. 17. — Metope of Selinus.

Aeginetan pediments. The transition in them from full-face to profile is managed not with the same abruptness as in relief, but still with a certain sacrifice of correctness. To show how long this tradition lasted, I add an engraving of the Dis-

cobolus of Myron (Fig. 19),[1] showing that even this masterpiece, for its age one of the most wonderful of human works, is really calculated for the front aspect only: the legs are in profile, the chest and face are full, and the transition between the two is imperfect.

As regards the basis and origin of these laws of frontality, there have been various views. The question is one of psychology, and well worthy of consideration, as it goes deep into the roots of our artistic and aesthetic faculties. It might be thought that it is merely the result of the greater easiness and simplicity of representing an erect as compared with a curved attitude. But this view does not go to the root of the matter: we require a fuller explanation.

FIG. 18. — Nike of Delos.

Professor Löwy has endeavoured to explain the phenomena which meet us in early Greek art on psychological grounds. He thinks they all arise out of inevitable tendencies of the human mind, anthropological laws which we may trace alike in the procedure of partly civilized peoples and the artistic efforts of children. I will repeat his views in my own words, and with illustrations.

[1] This photograph is taken from a cast made up of the Massimi head and the Vatican body, a reconstruction made at the Museum of Munich, and thence procurable.

(1) Primitive representations of objects in Greek art are based, like those of all peoples in the same early stage of civilization, not on any attempt directly to imitate a model, but on a sort of memory picture, based on repeated observation.

(2) This memory picture does not equally reproduce all the views of an object which are in the artist's experience, but only those views which are more typical; and these, generally speaking, are those in which objects appear in their broadest aspects. For example, the memory picture of a quadruped, a fish, a rosebud, will naturally represent them in profile; the memory picture of a fly, a lizard, a full-blown rose, will represent them as seen from above. And they will be detached from all background. Thus, the full view and the profile view are the views most natural.

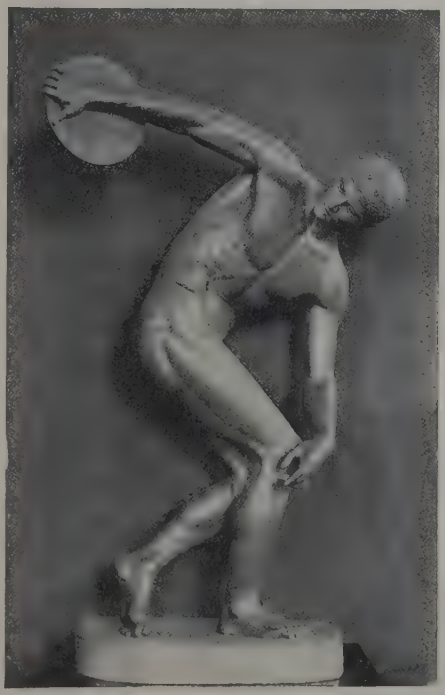


FIG. 19. — Discobolus of Myron.

(3) The memory picture being in itself weak is strengthened by the putting together of striking and characteristic features of the object. These, however, are put together not in the

organic fashion of nature, but rather as they successively impress the observer. Hence the art type will represent not so much a natural object as a mental construction. A good example of this will be found in the well-known fact that the sculptured man-headed bulls of Assyria have each five legs. The sculptor puts together the front view, in which two legs are visible, and the side view, in which four legs are visible, but one leg serves in both views, so that there are five in all. In a paper in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*,[1] Mr. Murray gives parallel examples from Greece — birds and sphinxes with one head and two bodies, and helmets with two crests, instead of one crest seen in two positions.

(4) Of groups and scenes the same rules hold good. If any part or element of background belongs to the action of the group, it is introduced, but by no means necessarily in objective place and connection. When we proceed, in chapter XIV, to speak of the set schemes usual in vase-paintings, we shall find abundant examples. The group as there depicted is the group not as it objectively exists or existed, but as it is supposed by the mind to be. When, for example, on a fine Corinthian vase, Amphiaraus' departure on the expedition against Thebes is depicted, the artist wishes to express the fact that Eriphyle, the wife of the hero, had been bribed by the gift of the necklace of Harmonia to induce him to take a part in the expedition; and this he does by placing a necklace very conspicuously in the hand of Eriphyle. As a matter of fact, the necklace would be at the moment the thing she would be most anxious to conceal; but it is part of the mental furniture of the scene.

(5) In the memory images and the art representations of motion, those attitudes are most impressive and are usually reproduced which are of longer duration. This rule applies widely in art, as must be evident to those who have studied instantaneous photographs, which constantly represent men

[1] For 1881, p. 318; Pl. XV.

and animals in attitudes on which the mind never dwells, and which are absent from art. The ordinary representations of trotting and galloping horses in the art of all nations do not accurately represent the horses at any moment of their course; but are, in fact, based upon a construction which results from a number of successive optical impressions.

The humanist and psychological character thus early impressed upon Greek art marks it throughout. We have already considered the meaning of *entasis* or adaptation to the eye of the spectator, which governs the erection of the temple. In the same way in all sculpture there is an adaptation to the eyes, and through the eyes to the thought. The modern artist in a relief tries to preserve the exact sizes and proportions of the things he portrays. The Greek regarded this as indifferent. What he thought more important, he has no scruple in representing on a larger scale, gods than men, freemen than slaves, men than the horses which they ride; while the features of nature, houses, trees and the like are usually omitted altogether from the background, or, if they are inserted, appear only in conventional or abbreviated form. It is not the world of photography which he would depict, but the world as a background to human life. Even in his use of colour, he is not concerned exactly to reproduce the tints of nature; he strives rather to use colour to distinguish what should be distinguished in nature, as well as to produce a scheme agreeable to the eye.

In a recent work, Dr. von Mach works out in great detail this subjective or impressionist aspect of sculpture;[1] he tries to show how many of the customs which seem to us to violate nature are really adaptations to the eye of the spectator. For example, it is a custom in Greek friezes to place the heads of the persons portrayed, whether they be seated, or standing or even on horseback, at the same level. It is suggested that

[1] E. Von Mach, *Greek Sculpture*, 1903.

this may be accounted for by the fact that it is less fatiguing in passing from head to head to move in a horizontal line than to move up and down in a zigzag. It is evident, however, that this principle of explanation may easily be carried too far. Adaptation to the defects of the human organism is far more usual in the later oratorical or rhetorical period of Greece than in the earlier, when there was, in addition to the humanist tendency, a noble determination to see things as they exist. It is the combination of the study of man with that of nature that produced the greatness of Greek art: either element separately would have led to grotesque results.

It is easy to illustrate by means of examples the mistakes into which a misunderstanding of the underlying laws or conditions of Greek art may mislead a modern observer. Some critics have complained of Homer because his heroes are made to pause in the midst of the battle turmoil to discuss their respective ancestry and achievements. Others discuss the action of such dramas as the *Agamemnon* or the *Alcestis*, without taking into account the strict conditions of the Greek stage, with its masks and buskins and trailing robes, contrived specially to remove the scenes portrayed from likeness to the scenes of daily life. Others suppose the speeches by means of which Thucydides explains the relations of the Greek states to one another to have been actually uttered by the statesmen into whose mouths he puts them. In the same way some writers have gravely maintained that what is represented in the frieze of the Parthenon is not the Panathenaic procession, certain important elements of which appear to be wanting, but a dress rehearsal for that procession. In each case the root of the mistake is the same, the direct comparison of a work of art with nature, and its condemnation because it conforms to a subjective rather than an objective law; in fact, ignorance of the grammar of the language of ancient art. To understand a work of art we must consider not merely what

in fact it represents, but also the conventions of the artist, as determined by his period, his school, his range of ideas. We must look at it not only in relation to nature, but also in relation to the human spirit, and the laws according to which in various countries that spirit works in the world of art.

CHAPTER VIII

SCULPTURE: MATERIAL, SPACE AND COLOURING

Relations to Material. — The modern sculptor works almost entirely in clay, and thinks rather of the purpose and destination of his work than of the material. But in early Greek art the distinction of the material is important. The sculptor in marble was also a stone mason, and cut his statue out of the solid block, as indeed did Michael Angelo. The sculptor in bronze not only furnished a clay model to the caster, but went carefully over the result of the fount, repairing flaws, chasing with a tool, sometimes adding curls, or a wreath, or a sword-belt, and the like. Works in bronze and in terra-cotta are alike in being formed in moulds, as opposed to marble sculpture. But between figures in bronze and figures in terra-cotta there is the strongest contrast of character, the soft clay lacking all the decisiveness and precision which is appropriate to work in metal. In making moulds the artist must have had this distinction always before him. In fact, in regard to sharpness and clearness of fabric, marble comes halfway between bronze and terra-cotta.

Down to the middle of the sixth century the history of Greek sculpture runs in three parallel lines which seldom cross one another; each school had its own material or class of materials to which it commonly confined itself.[1]

(1) *Sculpture in wood with inlays.* — The earliest Peloponnesian artists of whom we gain any definite knowledge are

[1] A most useful repertory of passages relating to the Greek sculptors is published by Mr. H. Stuart Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture*, 1895.

Dipoenus and Scyllis (said to be followers of the fabled Daedalus), who settled at Sicyon about 580 B.C. Their pupils carried on the tradition. The material in which they worked was chiefly wood, ebony or cedar, and ivory. In this school the custom naturally arose of using either marble or else ivory for the nude parts of the body, and coloured or gilt wood for the drapery, whence came the idea of the chryselephantine statue in gold and ivory. As early as 550 B.C. we find statues in gold and ivory of Athena and of Themis, the works of two Spartan sculptors. The chryselephantine statue was not, as has sometimes been supposed, a late and voluptuous refinement of art, but rather a survival of very early fabrics. The chest of Cypselus at Olympia, one of the earliest works of Greek art of which we have any knowledge, was of cedar, inlaid with gold and ivory. It is supposed that from the ancestral habit of working in wood were derived the flat surfaces and square outlines which are characteristic of the marble works of the Dorian schools of the Peloponnese. Since works in wood do not survive in the soil of Greece, as they do in the dryer soil of Egypt, we are obliged to form a notion of the early xoana, or wooden images, from primitive Peloponnesian works in stone. The accompanying illustration reproduces a small figure in Laconian marble found at Olympia, which was one of the three supports of a tripod (Fig. 20). It can hardly be said, however, that this figure preserves any marked characteristics of wooden style.

(2) *Sculpture in bronze.* — The origin of sculpture in bronze is not easy to trace. In existing remains we can discern the succession of three kinds of fabric. Down to about 550 B.C. it was the custom to cast solid in the case of small figures; but when large statues were required, to form them of plates of bronze hammered into the desired form and riveted together with nails. This process was termed *σφυρήλατον*. It is common in the metal vessels of Mycenae. Pausanias tells us of a bronze statue by Clearchus of Rhegium thus formed; and a

golden colossus of Zeus of the same fabric was preserved at Olympia. The fabric may be studied in a bronze figure from a tomb at Polledrara, preserved in the British Museum (Fig. 21). The second method of working was casting the parts of a statue in separate moulds and then welding or soldering them together. It may be that this improvement in method was intro-

FIG. 20. — From Olympia.

FIG. 21. — Figure from Polledrara.

duced by the Samian artists, Rhoecus and Theodorus, who lived in the days of Croesus and Polycrates. A fine kylix at Berlin[1] gives a representation of this kind of work (Fig. 21): a sculptor's workshop is shown, in which colossal bronze figures are

[1] Gerhard, *Coupes Grecques et Étrusques*, Pl. XII., repeated in many books and dictionaries.

being built up part by part, and the surface finished with the file. Later the *cire perdue* process,[1] which is that used by the great sculptors of the Renascence, was introduced into Greece. In this process the surface modelling is done in wax, which is an even more delicate and perfect material than clay.

FIG. 22. — Kylix at Berlin.

(3) *Sculpture in marble or stone.* — This kind of sculpture had from very early times been practised in Babylonia, Egypt and Asia Minor, and even in Greece, as the lion gate of Mycenae proves. But Dorians and Ionians seem to have rediscovered it for themselves; for we can trace, from the beginning

[1] See E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, Vol. I., p. 25.

of the sixth century onward, a regular and somewhat rapid improvement in technique, while in the earliest works the influence of wood-carving is sometimes to be traced. The first school to show some promise of the future perfection of Greek marble sculpture seems to be that of the island of Chios. The Chian sculptors, the list of whose works shows a marked preference for the draped female form, worked for their neighbours, and the name of one of them, Archermus, has been found on a base on the Acropolis of Athens. Not much later than the bloom of the school of Chios was that of some of the Dorian schools of Greece proper, which, although bronze was their usual material, have produced admirable work in marble, as every one who has studied the Aeginetan pediments knows. The work of the Dorian schools contrasts with that of the Ionians in that its motive was predominantly athletic and military, while that of the Ionians was more decorative and soft. This contrast of the characters of the two stems, of which the Dorian may be regarded as the male, and the Ionian as the female, element, runs through the whole history of Greek sculpture, the balance swaying in some schools in the one, in others in the opposite, direction. It is impossible here to trace even the main outlines of the history of marble sculpture, which is set forth in the professed histories of the subject, most briefly and clearly in Professor E. A. Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*.

Decorative and Substantive Art. — There is a radical distinction which exists between decorative art, which is subordinate to the general effect of the object decorated, temple or tomb, utensil or vase, and art which is not decorative. The latter is often termed imitative, but it need not be imitative: a statue of a Centaur, for example, cannot strictly be called imitative. It would be better to speak of substantive as opposed to decorative works of art. Of the actual remains of

Greek art which have come down to us, nearly the whole is decorative. The greatest statues of Greece have wholly perished, and of the lesser works of great masters only a few survive; nearly all are represented in our museums, if at all, only by Roman copies. On the other hand, the decorative sculpture of temples and tombs has survived in considerable quantities.

Thus it is that our knowledge of Greek decorative art is far greater than our knowledge of Greek substantive art. Decorative art is necessarily far less close to nature and less under the dominion of the ideal than substantive art. The relations between the two are like those between garlands of flowers woven to adorn an arbour and the trees which bore the flowers in their entirety. In the case of decorative art, the relations of the representation to the space which it has to occupy are primary; in it we expect beauty of line and balance of composition perhaps more than meaning and idea. In all technical aspects Greek decoration is admirable; and yet perhaps its overwhelming prominence makes us think less than we should of the thought and purpose involved in Greek art.

Relations to Space. — These are of course more fundamental in the case of decorative than in the case of substantive art: most important of all in the case of relief work. It is usual to distinguish three kinds of relief, high, middle and low. High relief is deeply undercut and in some places usually quite detached from the background; the metopes of the Parthenon are an example. Middle relief rises considerably from the background, with considerable light and shade; the frieze of the Parthenon is a good instance. Low relief rises little out of the background; example, the choragic monument of Lysicrates at Athens; its affinities for painting are closer than those for sculpture, and it greatly depends on the use of colour. These distinctions are convenient, especially because, the higher the relief, the more the play of light and shade comes in, especially in so sunny a climate as that of Greece. But they are not fun-

damental; in fact, relief may be of any degree of height, according to the purpose of the artist; we even find in some compositions a mixture of sculpture in high relief with figures in the round. Painting is a freer and bolder art than sculpture; and the nearer relief approaches in character to painting, the more flexibility it has. But mere liberty never greatly attracted the Greek artist; and he was well content to confine himself within certain fixed limits of convention.

FIG. 23. — Argive reliefs.

A good example of early relief in bronze or gold is furnished by the designs engraved on a mould obtained at Corfu, and now in the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 23). It is of Argive or Corinthian type. Each line or zone is divided up by patterns into quadrangular compartments, in which we sometimes find a single figure, a swan, a sea-monster, or a subject from myth, such as Ajax falling on his sword (line 2); sometimes we have a balanced group, a lion and a bull facing one another, or two boxers sparring over a tripod which is to be the reward of the victor. In the upmost line we have a hound pursuing hares in a thicket, a continuous frieze.

The reliefs on the archaic chest of Cypselus, of which we have an exact and detailed description by Pausanias,[1] exhibit to us clearly the tendencies which were developed in later Greek relief. On the basis of the description of Pausanias, combined with a wide study of early vases and reliefs, Mr. Stuart Jones has succeeded in producing a very successful restoration of the decoration.[2] The reliefs were arranged in five horizontal layers. In the uppermost and the lowest we find a few long scenes with many figures, the subjects being, Heracles shooting down the Centaurs, Thetis receiving from Hephaestus the arms of Achilles, the departure for Thebes of Amphiaraus, the funeral games at the burial of Pelias. The second and fourth bands are divided into smaller scenes, consisting usually of two or three figures in carefully balanced schemes. The midmost band is a long battle scene, warriors on foot and in chariots all moving towards the middle, a centripetal group. In the second, fourth, and fifth bands the names of persons are freely added, and in the second and fourth in addition are inscribed hexameter verses in Corinthian dialect describing the events portrayed. Mr. Stuart Jones tries to show that the long scenes resembling friezes show more of Ionic character, while the simple scenes with few figures usually go rather by Doric tradition.

Large groups of figures in the round scarcely occur except in the pediments of temples; they are thought out and ordered on much the same principles as are reliefs. We may best discuss the conditions of reliefs and quasi-reliefs in Greek developed art by considering the sculptural decoration of temples.

The Temple. – Since a large proportion of the extant sculptural remains of Greece belonged to temples, it becomes very important to trace their relations to the form of the temple. These sculptural decorations consisted either of (1) the pediments, (2) the metopes, or (3) the frieze.

(1) The pediments occupied the triangular spaces at each

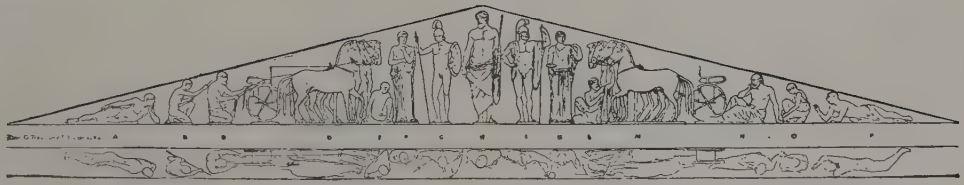
[1] *Pausanias*, V., 17. [2] See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1894, Pl. 1.

end of the temple, above the entablature and under the roof. The Greek name for pediment, ἀέτωμα, is taken from the shape, which is like that of an eagle with spread wings. As regards both subject and treatment, the pediment was governed by strict laws. The subject was usually taken from the cycle of myth belonging to the temple or its deity, and usually the subjects chosen for the two pediments had some relation one to the other: at Aegina the two expeditions against Troy were commemorated, on the Parthenon, the birth of Athena and her victory over Poseidon, and so forth. The triangular form of the space caused the tallest of the figures — that is, according to the ways of Greek art, the most dignified of them — to be placed in the middle; and thus naturally the whole action was concentrated in the midst in a fashion somewhat like the concentration of interest at the end of a tragedy, and the figures at either side were of subordinate importance. In the corners were commonly placed reclining figures which marked the time of the event (sun and moon), the place of the event (local nymphs and rivers), or other circumstance. The action which culminated in the midst either flowed thence to the corners or else flowed from the corners to the midst.

A more exact analysis of an example will illustrate the defined and rigid principles on which the sculptor of the pediment worked. We take as our example the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the arrangement of which by Dr. Treu scarcely admits of dispute. The subject here is taken from the marriage of Peirithous; Pausanias says that it was selected because of the two most prominent persons represented in it; Peirithous was son of Zeus and Theseus descended from Pelops. The connection is not very close; in fact, one suspects Attic influence in the choice of the subject, since at Athens Peirithous and Theseus were closely associated. However that be, what is clear is that the sculptor at Olympia had to compose a pediment representing the violent conduct of

the Centaurs invited to the wedding, and the fashion in which the bridegroom and his friend Theseus punished them. In the midst of the pediment (Fig. 24), like the tongue of a balance between two evenly poised scales, stands the dignified figure of Apollo, who, present invisibly, is really controlling the course of events. We must suppose the door of the guest chamber to be behind him; out of it issue forth on either side Theseus and Peirithous, armed with any weapons they could grasp, in hot pursuit of the Centaurs, who have seized upon the bride and her companions and are trying to make their escape with them. To each of the heroes is opposed a Centaur, in the very act of trying to lift his prey. And on either side of these central groups are other groups, or symplegmata, carefully balanced one against another on either side of the middle, representing the struggle of Centaur and Lapith, the balance of victory clearly inclining in favour of the latter. Beyond lie aged women reclining on cushions, evidently slaves who are crouching in terror; and outside these again, to mark the locality, the young and beauteous forms of Thessalian nymphs, who look on with that divine calm with which nature watches the struggles and crimes of mankind.

The spatial adaptations of this pediment deserve a closer consideration. Omitting the two nymphs, which are a mere framing to the scene, and examining the groups from left to right, we shall see that the numbers of figures in them proceed in a regular rhythm, 1 3 2 3 1 3 2 3 1; and we shall observe not only how each group balances its match in the other half of the pediment, but also how the lines of each group are precisely adapted to its position. And further, it is possible to take a point a little above the centre of the pediment, and thence to draw lines which shall pass as it were through the centre of gravity of each group, following the lines of its general direction (Fig. 25). In fact, the composition of a pediment is as exactly regulated as that of a sonnet or a Spenserian stanza:



Restoration of E. pediment of temple of Zeus at Olympia (Olympia). After Treu, *Jahrbuch*, 1888, Taf. 8, 9

Restoration of W. pediment of temple of Zeus at Olympia (Olympia). After Treu, *Jahrbuch*, 1888, Taf. 5, 6.

FIG. 24. — Pediments, Olympia.

the artist has liberty only in certain directions, and must not violate the laws of rhythm. The opposite (eastern) pediment is composed on similar lines. The subject is the preparations of Oenomaus and Pelops for the chariot race which was to decide the future of Peloponnesus. Zeus is in the midst, invisible like Apollo on the opposite pediment. On one side of him are Oenomaus and his wife Sterope, on the other side Pelops and his destined bride Hippodameia. The chariots of the two competitors with their attendants come next; the river-gods Cladeus and Alpheus recline in the angles. Here the action moves not from the middle to the angles, but from the angles to

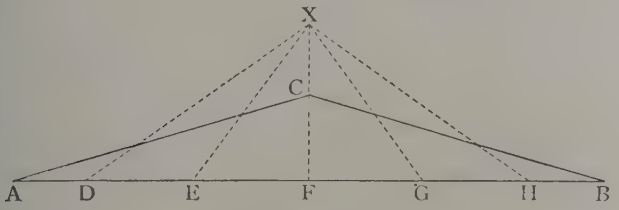


FIG. 25.

the middle; it is centripetal, not centrifugal. But the whole falls into groups as readily as does the Centaur pediment. Zeus, the competitors, the chariots, the river-gods, make in all seven groups. The rhythm here runs 1 4 2 1 2 4 1; and side balances side accurately. The lines of gravity here also meet at a point above Zeus.

And in addition to the order in the separate pediments, we have a correspondence between one and the other, especially as regards the apex and the corners; only that in one pediment we have parade-like repose, in the other strained action. To modern critics of art the pediments of Olympia have been a great disappointment — and certainly they have not the finish and the charm of those of the Parthenon — but we must remember that they were meant to be looked at from a distance,

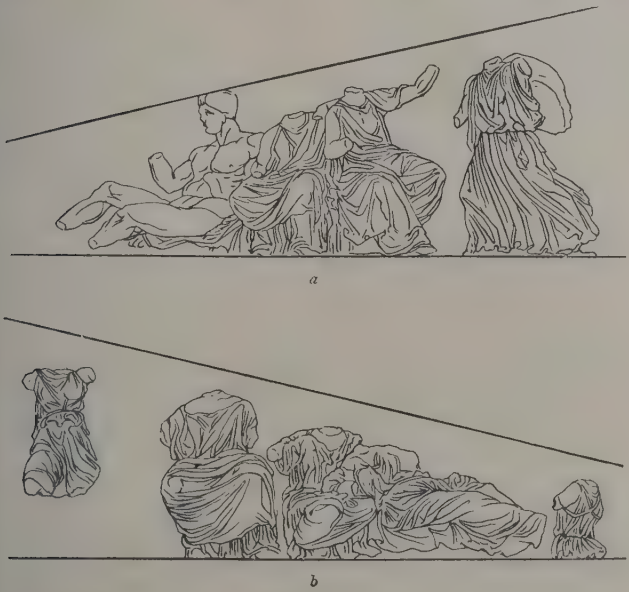
and that they are decorative rather than substantive sculpture.

The growth and decay of pedimental sculpture is an interesting history. Among the earliest pediments which have come down to us is that discovered at Corfu in ground belonging to the German Emperor. In it we see what is in fact a mere expansion of the ancient type of the winged Gorgon: this Gorgon on a large scale occupies the midst of the composition flanked by her two children, the winged horse Pegasus and the man Chrysaor. On either side reclines a lion; only in the corners, and on a very small scale, have we groups of human beings.[1] It is a decided advance on this unsuitable scheme, when we find in the sixth-century pediments of the Athenian Acropolis compositions making some account of the conditions of space. Here a usual subject is a contest between Heracles and one of his monster foes, whose fish or serpent tail fits well into the corner of the pediment. A still further advance marks the pediment of the Treasury of the Megarians at Olympia, in which the battle of gods and giants is represented; and the preponderant majesty of Zeus in the midst forms a centre, while the overthrown giants suitably fill the corners. In the admirable pediments of the temple of Aphaia at Aegina there is a carefully thought out balance. In both of them the goddess Athena, invisibly present, occupies the centre, and fallen warriors the corners, while the spaces between centre and corners are filled with groups of fighting men. In the old arrangement fighting figure balanced fighting figure with a hard and mechanical exactness, so as to give to the whole a puppet-like appearance. But the recent excavations of Furtwängler at Aegina have produced fresh figures, and enabled that most learned and talented

[1] Not yet satisfactorily published. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1912, p. 286. Sir Arthur Evans speaks of the smaller figures as "a work of supererogation." I should prefer to consider them as the coming in of a nobler order of ideas.

of explorers to reconstitute the whole composition on more free and pleasing lines.[1]

Next in time come the pediments of Olympia; and shortly after them we reach in the pediments of the Parthenon the acme of pedimental composition. Here instead of an exact balance of figure by figure we have a more subtle balance and



a

b

FIG. 26.

rhythm. In the east pediment, for example, we have on the extreme left two female figures seated together, probably Demeter and Persephone, with Dionysus seated beyond them, and turned towards the corner. On the extreme right, to balance these three figures, we have the so-called three Fates, of

[1] Furtwängler, *Aegina: das Heiligtum der Aphaia*.

whom the nearest to the middle is seated alone, while the two others form a group, one sitting and one reclining against her, so as to balance the figure of Dionysus at the other end (Fig. 26).

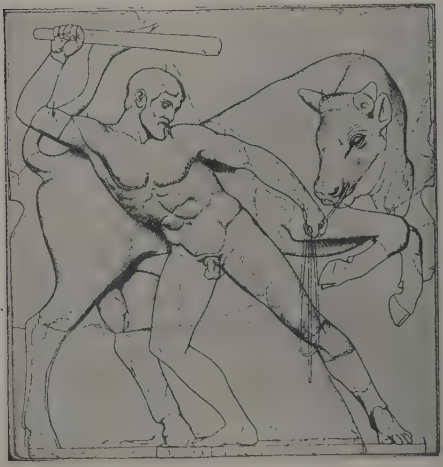
Of the pediments of the fourth century we have little exact knowledge; but if Pausanias is to be trusted when he tells us that Praxiteles depicted in the pediments of the temple of Heracles at Thebes the labours of the hero, it would seem that within a century of the completion of the Parthenon the art of choosing satisfactory subjects for pediments had been lost, since a series of combats is a most unsuitable theme for a pedimental composition. If it be thought strange that so simple a condition as the triangular form of the pediment should prove so trying to the Greek sculptor, it should be observed that modern sculptors also have tried their hands at pedimental compositions, and with very moderate success. It would not be easy to find a pleasing modern pediment. Of course the modern sculptor works at a disadvantage, as the resources on which the Greek relied are not open to him; he cannot vary the size of his figures in accordance with their dignity, or fill the corners with reclining river-gods. But even apart from these disadvantages, the difficulties inherent in the form are very great.

(2) The metopes were originally the open spaces which separated triglyphs supporting the roofs of temples; but in the perfected form of the temple they were square slabs alternating with the triglyphs and running round the whole of the temples of Dorian order. Sometimes, especially at the ends of temples, they were sculptured. To the sculptural decorator they offered series of spaces of the same size and square shape to be adorned with reliefs which must needs be bold and high, in order to be visible in recesses under the roof and between the projecting triglyphs. The shape of the field limited the compositions to two or three figures; and the only suitable subjects

were pairs of combatants, or dramatic incidents confined to two or three actors. Such series as the labours of Heracles, as in the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Fig. 27), or else the struggles of Theseus, combats of Centaur and Lapith, of Greek and Amazon, of Gods and Giants, naturally suggested themselves, and were repeated with what seems to us wearisome iteration from temple to temple. The temples in the adornment of which the greatest originality was displayed, such as the Parthenon, furnish us with a few other groups, such as scenes from the taking of Ilium. In the case of this temple some scenes are spread over two metopes; but this was seen to be a mistake in method, for it was of the essence of the metope to be a closed group. Infinite diversity ranging within narrow limits of subject and of composition was a thing which pleased and satisfied the Greek artistic taste, not only in sculpture, but in all forms of art and literature. The ponderation of the groups and their planning so as to fill the space at disposal was a matter which greatly attracted the Greek artist, and in which he attained an unrivalled mastery. There are few metopes of the good age which will not bear a severe artistic anatomy, a tracing out of the lines of the composition, and its reduction almost to a mathematical scheme. When we treat in chapter XIV of the composition of vase-paintings, we shall go farther into the principles followed by the Greeks in the arrangement of simple groups.

(3) The frieze is by no means invariable on a Greek temple; in fact, the Parthenon is almost the only Doric temple on which there is such a thing, though it was usual in Ionic temples, such as that of Athena Nike. The frieze was best adapted to some continuous subject. Often the Greeks used it for the representation of a battle, which could either be represented in a continuous succession of groups of combatants or broken up into a series of duels, as in the metopes. In some Greek friezes, as in those from the Treasury of Cnidus at Delphi

a



b

FIG. 27. — Metopes of Olympia.

and those from the tomb at Trysa, we have series of mythological scenes of various lengths and chosen very much at random, like the series of paintings on early black-figured vases. The one instance in which a supremely successful result is attained in dealing with the conditions of the frieze is of course the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon. The spectator can follow the procession there depicted from its start at the southwest corner of the building, as the pace at first grows more rapid, till we reach the bounding chariots, and then grows more sedate and stately as we approach the spot where the sacrifice is prepared, and the gods wait to receive their approaching votaries; on whichever side of the temple the visitor walks he will see the same order of procession, and receive the same impression. On one of the tombs from Lycia of the early fifth century there is a procession of figures walking and riding in chariots, and on the sarcophagi from Sidon we find depicted funereal cavalcades; but it must be allowed that Greek artists do not always realize the possibilities offered them by the monuments they are set to adorn, as regards subject. Their minds seem often to be so set upon overcoming the difficulties of the task by some new arrangement of schemes, that they neglect the higher possibilities. This is another form of the rhetorical tendency of which I have spoken.

The principles of balance are by no means neglected by the Greeks, even in the continuous representations of friezes. Any one who visits the Mausoleum room at the British Museum may observe that it is possible in that frieze sometimes to select a group and to discern how on either side of it figure balances figure and attitude attitude (Fig. 28).[1] The same thing holds of the frieze of the monument of Lysicrates at Athens. There the figure of Dionysus with his panther is central, and if we

[1] See especially the figures on either side of Series I., 8 and Series III., 3 in Overbeck's representation of the frieze in Ed. IV. of his *History of Sculpture*, or *Alte Denkmäler*, II., Pl. 16.

Fig. 28. — From the Mausoleum frieze.

move from the central group to right and left, we shall find an extraordinary balance of satyr against satyr and pirate against pirate. But perhaps the most remarkable example of balance in a frieze which has come down to us is the battle scene from the Alexander sarcophagus at Sidon. This is further considered in chapter XIX.

Other works of decorative art, not connected with temples and tombs, are composed with careful reference to spatial considerations. This part of our subject, however, is better treated of under the head of painting, as we can best illustrate it from the designs of Greek vases.

There are, however, a few conventions belonging especially to sculptural groups and reliefs which may here be mentioned.

Isocephalism is the convention whereby in a continuous relief the heads of the persons portrayed are kept as far as possible on a level, whether they be seated, or on horseback, or standing. This, of course, is not a hard and mechanical rule, but rather a tendency. The frieze of the Parthenon will supply abundant examples: the heads of the horsemen, the charioteers, the walkers, and the seated deities are almost on a level.

The heads of seated and of standing figures could be thus placed at the same level only by making the former of larger stature. And this brings us to another sculptural convention, that of adaptation of stature to dignity. In groups, whether in the round or in relief, it is usual to represent the figure of greater importance or dignity on a larger scale. Gods are represented as taller than mortals, kings than their subjects, freemen than slaves, and human beings in comparison with animals such as horses or oxen are represented in somewhat more than their actual proportions. It is a result of the idealist spirit which pervades Greek art and makes the artist regard ideal or moral truth as more important than precise correspondence with visible fact. It is evident that this particular invention was of especial value in the composition of pediments, in which the

most important figures would naturally be placed in the midst, where the form of the pediment allowed of greater height.

Colour. — That this is of the very essence of Greek architecture we have already seen. And as the decoration of Greek temples consisted not merely in painted ornament, but also largely in panels filled with sculptured reliefs, it is quite natural that colour should have been used largely in these reliefs; otherwise they would have failed to correspond to their environment. Greek substantive sculpture, as we shall see, was painted; but in decorative sculpture colour was far more necessary and universal. In temples the backgrounds of pediment, metope, and frieze were painted of some uniform colour, against which the figures of the relief stood out. And these, also, were tinted or painted almost throughout, while accessories such as armour, horse-trappings, and the like were added in bronze or other metal, so that the whole must have produced a variegated and vivid effect. This is no matter of mere conjecture: a careful examination of the temple sculpture found at Aegina, Olympia and other sites has always resulted in the discovery of considerable remains of colour.

For example, Professor Brunn's examination of the figures of the Aeginetan pediments at Munich showed that while the naked bodies of the fighting warriors were only tinted and thrown up by a dark red background, the garments and armour were strongly coloured. The peplos and sandals of Athena were painted red; the helmets of the warriors were blue, with red crests. Eyes, lips, and hair of all figures were painted, and traces of red on some of the bodies seem to have represented blood flowing from the wounds. Little holes in the marble show where sword-belts and ornaments of the helmets in bronze were fastened.

Careful examination of the sculpture of the temple of Zeus at Olympia led to similar discoveries. The background of the metope representing Heracles struggling with a bull (Fig. 27)

was coloured blue, the bull's body brown; the background of the metope representing the slaying of the Lernaean hydra was red, the hydra itself blue. The hair, lips and eyes of Heracles were coloured. In case of the pediments, though few traces of colour remained, yet the rudimentary way in which the hair and beards of the figures were worked out by the chisel proved that much had been left for the brush to make clear and emphatic.

The fact that Greek decorative sculpture was painted has been made more familiar to modern students from their seeing the remains of the archaic temples of Athens now carefully preserved in the Acropolis Museum. The monstrous male head with blue beard and green eyes which comes from an early limestone pediment, the variegated bodies of Triton and of the bull pulled down by two lions, have become familiar to us and given us a vivid notion of the strong and even crude colouring of the early limestone sculpture of Athens. Two things are made clear to us: first, that the colours thus used were few and simple, bright hard red and blue principally; and second, that in their use the guiding principle was not the imitation of nature, but the production of a decorative design. Blue hair, red eyes, oxen striped with green, are no exceptional occurrences.

We find, as might be expected, that in later and more tasteful ages early crude colouring gives way to painting at once less glaring and more in accordance with natural appearances. I have already spoken of the temple sculptures of Aegina and Olympia. But if we would see the colouring of decorative sculpture at its best, we must turn to the beautiful sarcophagi from Sidon now preserved at Constantinople.[1] On the great sarcophagus on which one of Alexander's victories is depicted (Fig. 107) everything is coloured — the background, the dress and arms of the warriors, their hair and eyes, even the bodies

[1] These are admirably reproduced, partly in colour, in the work of Hamdy Bey and T. Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon.*

of horses and men. But all is softened and subdued, and although a decorative effect is aimed at, yet there is no clashing with natural appearances. Dresses are of bright and varied colour; but the blue colour of steel, the reddish brown of hair, the tints of flesh, are carefully and naturally rendered. And the painter has succeeded by some process in so laying on his colour that it does not conceal the transparent shine of the marble, but mingles with it.

As regards *substantive sculpture*, our evidence is less complete and definite. From the evidence of the archaic female figures found on the Athenian Acropolis we know that in the days before the Persian wars statues dedicated to the gods were coloured almost as fully as the pedimental figures of which I have spoken, and on similar decorative principles. The female figures dedicated to Athena still retain much of their colouring, and we can follow the bright patterns with which the borders of their garments were adorned, as well as the painting of their eyes and hair and other parts.[1] There can be little doubt that in the course of the fifth century, as sculpture became more masterly, it left less and less to painting, and that the colours used in painting statues became less hard. Yet since we are told that the eminent painter Nicias was employed to tint the statues of Praxiteles, we may be sure that even in the fourth century statues were not uncoloured. The evidence to be gained from existing statues is scarcely conclusive.[2] Many experiments have been made in the endeavour by colouring casts to reproduce the aspect of original Greek statues, especially by Dr. Treu in the Albertinum at Dresden. But such attempts are seldom or never quite successful, in part perhaps because it is impossible to give to casts anything like the warm

[1] See Collignon's *Histoire de la Sculpture grecque*, frontispiece; also coloured facsimiles in the museums of casts.

[2] See, however, the head of Athena in *Antike Denkmäler*, Vol. I., 3, and the British Museum head in the *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.*, 1899, Pl. 1.

transparent surface of marble, and a layer of colour on them is opaque and dead, whereas the colour on the marble sarcophagi from Sidon seems to be semi-transparent.

Perhaps the best notion of the colouring of Greek statues in the fourth century may be gained from an examination of the charming statuettes discovered in recent years in great numbers at Tanagra in Boeotia. When found these statuettes are as bright as spring flowers, and although some of their freshness disappears on exposure to the air, yet enough remains to give us a hint of the appearance which a gallery of sculpture would have produced in the later age of Greece.

CHAPTER IX

THE PROGRESS OF SCULPTURE

While it is necessary, in speaking of Greek art, to insist upon the human and subjective side of it, it is yet wrong to overlook other elements of the greatest importance. There was never, at least in early Greece, any fear that art should become merely a rendering of human thought and emotion without full study of nature. This is made clear in all parts of this book: in the present place I propose to make a few general observations on the subject.

As it was man who especially interested the Greeks, it was to the study of the human body, both in itself and as the abode of the spirit, that the Greek artist especially devoted himself. In the fifth and fourth centuries he made rapid and uninterrupted progress in the knowledge of this body in every position of rest and of action, from the extreme tension of the battle and the palaestra to the complete repose of the reclining position.

A result of the preponderant interest in what is human appears also in the degree of excellence with which various natural objects are portrayed. In the fifth century the forms of men and women are admirably given, but the bodies of children are poorly rendered. They appear in far too developed a form, as little men and women; and although doubtless in the climate of Greece the bodily forms ripen earlier, this is an exaggeration. Children do not become simple and natural until the Hellenistic age. This explains, what strikes many

artists with surprise, the poor rendering of the infant Dionysus in the arms of the Hermes of Praxiteles. So too, the animals with which man is familiar and which enter into his daily life, the horse, the dog, the bull, are infinitely better rendered in early art than the wild boar or the lion. Trees, rocks and other features of the natural landscape are not copied in detail or with care; they are mere background: any attention given to them by the spectator would be taken from what was worthier of it. This may be illustrated by a tale told of the painter Protogenes. He painted a satyr standing by a pillar, and on the pillar a partridge. The partridge, however, was so well painted that spectators took to admiring it even more than the satyr; on which the painter in anger painted out the bird whose excellence was so distracting.

Together with a greater knowledge of nature went improvements in technique. The law of frontality, of which we have spoken in an earlier chapter, is not strictly observed in Greek art after the Persian wars. Through the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C. one may trace its gradual decay. Before the middle of the fifth century the line drawn from the head of a figure to a spot between the feet bisecting the body is no longer quite straight, but somewhat curved, and the curve departs with time more and more from the straight line. The first result is to throw more of the weight of the body on one leg than the other, so that one finds what the Germans call a *Standbein*, or leg which supports the body, and a *Spielbein*, or leg which is bent at the knee and free from most of the weight. In different schools this balancing is carried out on different plans; for example, the solutions of the problem adopted in the Parthenon frieze and the Attic school are quite different from those accepted by Polycleitus and perpetuated in his statues of the Doryphorus and Diadumenus. With the Diadumenus of Polycleitus (Fig. 29), we may well compare a contemporary Diadumenus (youth tying a fillet round his head) of the Attic

school (Fig. 30), the difference in the attitudes of the legs being striking.

Professor Lange, with many other writers, is mistaken in too definitely associating this change with Polycleitus. As I

FIG. 29. — Diadumenus, Argive.

have already observed, it proceeds during the fifth century in all schools, and the merit of Polycleitus does not lie in his being the first to attempt the problem, but in the particular solution which he discovered. The words *proprium ejus est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse* have, in fact, been mis-

interpreted as meaning that it was the great merit of Polycleitus to have invented a plan whereby the main weight of the body was thrown on one leg. This invention, however, is by no means peculiar to the school of Polycleitus. *Uno crure insistere* means rather to move forward with one foot in advance, and in fact the most noted statues of Polycleitus are thus represented in actual motion.

FIG. 30. — Diadumenos, Athens.

The statues of the Praxitelean class — the Hermes of Olympia, the Satyr of the Capitol, the Apollo Sauroctonus, and the Cnidian Aphrodite — are all similar in pose, and exactly alike in being all intended for view of the body from the full front, in which aspect alone they display their full beauty. Standing before them, one notices in each case three things: (1) that the face is turned so as to show in the three-quarter face position; (2) that the line which in archaic statues is quite straight from head to groin is greatly curved, so that the figures seem even to lounge; (3) that the tree-trunk, or other support necessary to a figure in marble, is worked in as part of the group. These facts give to most of the Praxitelean statues in our museums a certain family likeness.

Dr. Löwy has pointed out that there are no standing Greek

statues which seem really thought out in three dimensions until we come to the well-known figure of the Apoxyomenus, which is usually regarded as a copy of a bronze statue of Lysippus, the court sculptor of Alexander the Great, but which more probably belongs in fact to the beginning of the third century.[1] The more direct imitation of nature, which came in in the school of Lysippus, though it did not much affect the work of that master himself, would naturally have the effect of which I speak.

Passing down history from period to period we see in the progress of sculpture the gradual victory of practice and deter-ion. The line of attainment, of successful grappling e difficulties of execution, mounts gradually in the human passing from the easier parts of it to those which are more difficult. In the statue found at Tenea, and sometimes called the Apollo of Tenea, the feet and lower legs are carefully and, on the whole, correctly represented. In the statues of half a century later, as in those of the Aegina pediments, or the so-called Strangford Apollo of the British Museum, we find a not unsuccessful rendering of all the principal members of the body; only some parts of the head are inferior. The eye and the parts about the eye, in which so much expression resides, baffle the Aeginetan artist; the mouth, which is so frequently in motion, he fails to represent in repose; and the hair, which is unsuited to representation in a hard substance like marble, is given in a kind of conventional pattern. It is not until the middle of the fifth century that these difficulties are met successfully.

It is especially in the rendering of the head that even an eye not thoroughly familiar with Greek sculpture and painting can easily discern the stages by which stiff archaism passes into perfect mastery. The development is slowest in the case

[1] This I have tried to prove in an article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXIII., p. 130.

of eyes and hair, the former the most mobile and expressive part of the face, the latter the part to which it is hardest to assign a definite sculptural shape. But before speaking of eye and hair, the shape of the head and the proportions of the various parts of the face demand a few words. In the sixth century it is doubtful whether distinct types of head are in

FIG. 31. — Head : Doryphoros.

vogue in the different schools ; at all events, the inquiry whether or not this is the case is too detailed and complicated to be here attempted. But there can be little question that Professor Brunn was right in maintaining that in the work of the fifth century we can distinguish between Dorian and Attic types. In archaic art, generally speaking, we may remark a predominance of the lower part of the face, the j

over the upper part. This may be the result of the admiration of athletic types; at any rate, it seems appropriate in a nation in which physical development had the start of mental cultivation. In the fifth century something of this predominance still survives in the Argive school. There the head, of which the Doryphorus offers a good example (Fig. 31), when seen in profile, is notably of square outline, with flat top and considerable depth from front to back. Again, if the face be divided into three parts by lines passing through the brows and the bottom of the nose, these parts in the Argive head will be found to be of nearly equal height. If beside this head we place one of characteristic Attic type, such as the Hermes of Praxiteles (Fig. 32), it will be found to be less deep, and vaulted on the top. And again, taking the three sections of the face, the upper section will be found to be longer than the lower. The Argive head has a more powerful framework, but the Attic is distinctly more intellectual, whether the difference be caused by original diversity of race or by long habit. In the fourth century Scopas, to judge by the heads from Tegea, followed the Peloponnesian outline, while the heads of Praxiteles are decidedly Attic in type. But both sculptors agreed in throwing

FIG. 32. — Hermes of Praxiteles.

back the eye under a heavy brow and frontal ridge, by which means the expressiveness of the face is greatly increased.

A good example of the great difficulty which an object confusing to the faculties of observation offered to the early Greek artist is to be found in the case of the human eye. Every one who has looked at early vase-paintings will have observed that in them, when a face is drawn in profile, the eye is turned full to the spectator. The male eye, bold and full, is represented as circular; the female eye, more modest, is almond-shaped. It was only by slow efforts, extending over a long period, that the representation of the eye was mastered. It turns gradually

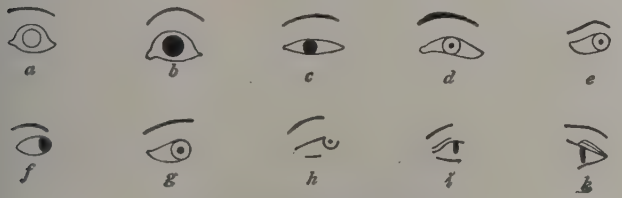


FIG. 33. — Male and female eye.

from the full-face drawing to a rendering in outline. Decade by decade the drawing of the eye, alike on vases and in reliefs, changes in the direction of nature, but complete naturalism is never reached. On the Parthenon frieze, for example, the eyes of the faces which are in profile preserve something of the old almond form. Towards the end of the fifth century the form of the eye itself is more correct, but even then it is set back from the nose too far, at all events when compared with modern profiles. It is not, however, merely the difficulty of representing the eye which makes its treatment in art so backward. We must revert for a complete understanding to the psychological expla-

[1] Figure 33 in the text is due to Sir Cecil Smith: see the *Cat. Vases in the Brit. Museum*, Vol. III., p. 4. Figures *a*, *b* are typically male; Figs. *c*, *d*, typically female.

nations of Dr. Löwy. It is difficult even now for any of us to think of an eye in profile, and still more difficult was this to more primitive peoples. The eye of all things is that which most essentially looks at one, and so must be drawn looking at one. The study of nature by slow degrees corrects this inveterate habit in art, but only by slow degrees. On vases, even after the profile eye has been mastered, we find curious inaccuracy in representing an eye in a figure turned three-quarters toward the spectator, when it is represented as either too full or too much in profile.[1]

The mouth is less difficult to portray than the eye, whence we sometimes find beautiful mouths in statues of the age of the Persian wars. But in the sixth century the ends of it are usually turned upwards, so as to produce an unmeaning smile. Perhaps this curious result came from an attempt to give a genial and pleasant expression to the head; in our own time many people when photographed relapse into a vacant smile.

As the representation of face and head became less formal, and more according to nature, the representation of the hair as a mere pattern could not of course persist. In the great art of the fifth century hair and beard were treated as quite subordinate to the face and head, being both alike short and simply rendered. It was in the fourth century that sculptors began, no doubt under the influence of portrait-sculpture, to make more of the hair and beard, discovering how greatly they may be used to impart character to the face, and how much they may be worked up from the point of view of style. If any one studies the portraits of poets, statesmen and philosophers of the fourth and following centuries, he will be greatly impressed, not only by the remarkable beauty and dignity of the Greek man, but also by the way in which the arrangement of the hair and the planning of the locks of the beard may be

[1] For example, a figure of an Amazon in Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 58.

made in the highest sense artistic and beautiful, as well as thoroughly characteristic of the individual, and of the class to which he belongs.

The rendering of hair and beard in sculpture must always be difficult and almost paradoxical. For when we look at these outgrowths we do not observe definite forms, but rather light and shade. And to render in such hard materials as marble and bronze soft and flowing locks made up of multitudes of hairs seldom quite straight is a task almost beyond human capacity. Archaic Greek art, like the art of Assyria and Egypt, took the only course open to it and rendered the strands of hair as a sort of pattern, by spirals and waves and the like. (See Figs. 18, 35.) Above the forehead of early statues one finds rows of curls formed like snail-shells, or like corkscrews, or arranged in wavy patterns. Long curls, three on each side, fall over the chest, alike in men and women, and the mane of long hair behind falls straight and square, only marked with parallel waved grooves to show that it is made of separate hairs.

After the Persian wars, the fashion of wearing the hair long gradually gave way among the men. Yet in the art of the first half of the fifth century long hair was still usual, even in the case of athletes; it was cut short over the forehead, and the long locks which fell down the back were worked into a plait which was wound round the head. As contrasted with these athletes, young gods, such as Apollo and Hermes, still usually had curls falling from the forehead and long hair flowing over the shoulders. The hair of women was done up in a variety of nets and kerchiefs, and was smooth over the brows (Fig. 40).

In the great age the artist studied man from the outside. In the third century there came a change. With the growing individualism of the people, and with the establishment of great institutions for learning and research like the Museum

of Alexandria, a new current set into art. Anatomy, in particular human anatomy, was studied. Some of the great physicians of Alexandria gave themselves up to such research. Herophilus was credited with the dissection of 600 bodies. Thus the artists, who had hitherto been content with what the eyes see of the human frame, learned about its inner construction and working.[1] At the same time they took to minuter examination of the hair, the furrows of the skin, and the like. Casts in plaster from the limbs of the living and the faces of the dead were taken to work by in the studio. The result of all this learning appears at once in such statues as the Apoxyomenus and the portrait of Demosthenes, later in the Laocoon, and the fighter of Agasias in the Louvre. But what art thus gained in precision it lost in dignity and nobility.

We may trace a parallel improvement in the technique of relief. Greek relief starts from the surface of the marble, on which either with a brush or a chisel the subject to be portrayed was sketched in outline, and the cutting carried as far down as was necessary. A very instructive example is the relief from Lamprika in Attica, on which is represented on the front a young armed horseman, and on the sides his sorrowing relatives (Fig. 34). The outlines of horse and rider are cut by a tool, and the surface of the stone just outside the lines is worked away; but the general surface of the stone is on the same level as the figures. The inner markings of the muscles of the horses and of the pattern of the cloak are engraved. The relief is in no way rounded, but presents a flat surface. This work is exceptional; it is in fact a painting merely emphasized with a tool: other reliefs of the same period show more adaptation. For example, in the early relief from Sparta (Fig. 5), there are several planes, one further recessed than another, like the planes in a carved onyx; but they are flat,

[1] This is dwelt on by Lange, *Die menschliche Gestalt in der Geschichte der Kunst*, Part II., p. 39.

there is no rounding of the figures represented. Indeed this rounding, though of course it was more necessary in proportion to the highness of relief, was not carried out at all consistently

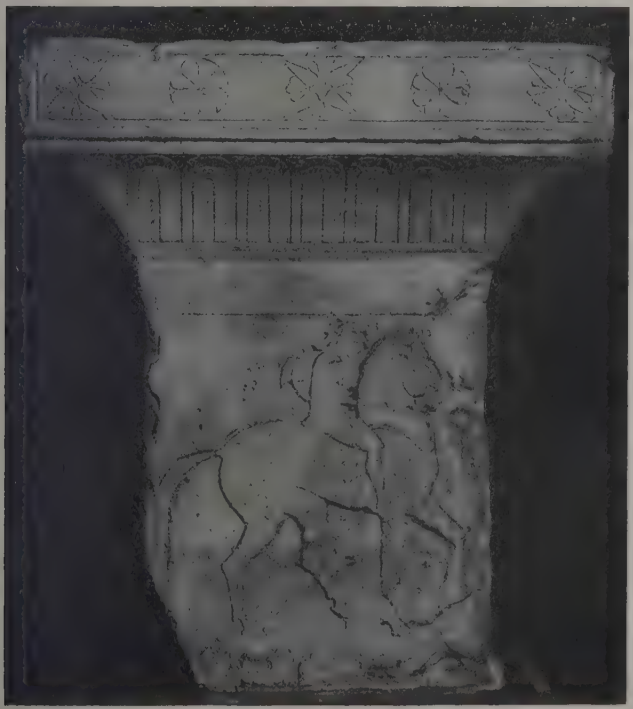


FIG. 34. — Stele from Lamprika: Athens.

until quite a late age of sculpture. Anything like illusion is scarcely attempted before the Roman age.

In so remarkable a work of art as the frieze of the Parthenon we still see the working of the primitive notions as to relief. There is no adoption of the plan usual in modern reliefs, of

making deeper recessing wherever the object portrayed is more remote. There is scarcely any perspective, but a procession of figures, each worked out with a view to its properly impressing the spectator. When we consider this frieze, we must always take into account its location. It was placed high up outside the walls of the temple, but inside the line of exterior columns, just under the roof. The only light which reached it was from below; and it was not visible except in snatches to those who walked round the temple, and looked up at it. It necessarily resulted that the whole had to be, so to speak, sloped outward; and the upper parts of the figures were sculptured in somewhat higher relief than the lower parts. If each man in the procession had been in all parts depicted at the same height of relief, too much would have been seen of his legs, and too little of his head. But, apart from this, in carving the individual figures, the object was not to give to each part of them the exact prominence which it has in nature, but to make each figure or each group a pleasing and intelligible whole. For example, in the case of Hebe, her lower part is at a lower level than the knees of her mother Hera behind which she stands, but her upper part is at the same level as her mother's head.

To sculptors of a somewhat later time this want of uniformity probably seemed unsatisfactory, as they tend more and more to detach the figures in a frieze, and to represent them by themselves as standing out from the background. This tendency, already striking in the friezes of the Mausoleum, is carried to its farthest point in such works as the frieze of the monument of Lysicrates at Athens. Then there came a reaction; and Roman sarcophagi, for example, are crowded with figures in direct imitation of painting.

CHAPTER X

DRESS AND DRAPERY

It is necessary for every one who approaches the study of Greek sculpture and painting first to pay some attention to the character of Greek dress. For the human figures which are the subjects of Greek art are in the great majority of cases clothed. And whereas every one necessarily has some small knowledge and understanding of the human figure, very few persons, even very few artists, understand how Greek dress was cut and worn. This dress was astonishingly simple, and yet in its arrangement so foreign to our habits and notions that many learners find the greatest difficulty in understanding it, or in believing that it was in actual use.

It does not, however, appear, in all cases, that the dress represented in Greek sculpture and painting was the dress actually worn. There is in earlier Greek art a good deal of helplessness and convention, and in later Greek art there is what may be called a rhetorical tendency, a striving after a pleasing result without strict adherence to fact. We must therefore be on our guard in taking the evidence as to dress furnished by the monuments. Works of archaic art often present to us elaborate systems of folds and pleats which are quite conventional, and at a later time dress has beyond doubt a tendency to pass into drapery, that is, into dress arranged not for use but for artistic effect, as foil or background. But notwithstanding this, it may be fairly said that in the case of the great mass of Greek statues, and even of figures in painting and relief, the dress is a possible clothing, and represents the actual dress of daily life

as closely as the figures themselves represent the men and women of street and market-place. The ugliness of modern dress has caused us in our statues to adopt all sorts of fanciful and impossible costumes for our heroes and heroines, some of which are supposed to be Greek or Roman. There was nothing of the kind in ancient times. The actual dress of the Greeks was planned as much with a view to beauty as for use; its scheme was charmingly simple, and it scarcely varied from century to century. The degrading tyranny of fashion, which makes modern men and women change the manner of their dress every year in obedience to some unwritten law mysteriously originated and mercilessly enforced, was quite unknown in antiquity. It is, of course, this rule of fashion which makes it impossible for modern dress to become beautiful; for even if it in some year by a fortunate chance drifted in the direction of beauty, the beauty would in the next year become unfashionable, and ugliness would take its place. Being exempt from the necessity of constantly inventing new modes of dress, the Greeks were able by slight changes in its arrangement to make it more becoming and graceful; and these small improvements were welcomed and adopted by artists. But the main principles never changed.

The first of these principles is never to collide with or to violate nature, but to produce something wholly in harmony with it, to emphasize what is in nature most beautiful, to produce a commentary upon it rather than a perversion of it. In the Mycenaean age the fashion of hemming in the waist with tight bands appears to have prevailed. Such a course was contrary to the spirit of Greek art. In the statues which have come down to us the female waist is scarcely smaller than the male. Its circumference is usually about half the height in both men and women. Thus a figure of five feet six inches in height would have a waist of about thirty-three inches in circumference. No doubt the build of northern races is taller

and more slender than that of the Mediterranean peoples; and it appears among us to be rapidly becoming more elongated still. But that fact does not excuse the modern habit of girding in the waists of women. And if many statues of Greek women seem to us to display too freely the charms of the body, we may be sure that the Greeks would never have tolerated the wearing in the presence of men of low-necked dresses. The dress of Greek women on the materialist side is for warmth; but on its formal side it was developed by the desire to please men of simple life and fine aesthetic sensibility. So it lays stress on what nature regards as the most beautiful parts of the body, especially breast, arms and feet. The dress of men, on the other hand, is mainly fitted to leave them free for active exertion, the outer garment being a mere wrap to be put on at times of rest.

Naturally dress, both in material and form, is largely dependent upon climate and customs of life. Greek dress is only suited to a gentle and genial climate, and to a society in which men and women do not very freely mix. When the artists represent Persians, Scythians or other dwellers in colder climates, they naturally represent them in their own dress, which is, in its way, almost as graceful as the Greek. These peoples wore jackets with long sleeves and trousers fitting closely to the arm and leg. The Greek artist thoroughly understood the artistic possibilities of such garments; some of the statues of Orientals, such as the horseman from the Mausoleum or the draped figure of Paris in the Vatican, are admirable works of art. But the Greeks do not seem usually to have been tempted to adopt barbarian dress, even when they lived in colder climates.

A strong line of distinction must be drawn between the Ionian and the Dorian dress. In dress, as in all phenomena of Greek history, the contrast of Ionian and Dorian is emphatic, and the interaction of the two elements makes the web of Greek

history. It is true that we cannot always, in the case of early male figures when they are nude, tell the difference between Dorian and Ionian. And at Athens and elsewhere in Greece, female figures of archaic type are clad sometimes in the Ionian and sometimes in the Dorian dress. But Herodotus carefully distinguishes the two, telling us that the Dorian dress was fastened with large pins or fibulae, and that the Ionian was not, that is, that it either required only small fibulae, or was sewn.[1] He also says that the Greeks in Asia adopted a more Orientalizing style of dress from their Carian neighbours. Already in Homer we have this distinction noted, as he speaks of the Ionians as ἑλκεχιτῶνες, wearing chitons which reached to the ground; and he does not apply this epithet to other Greeks.

And, in fact, all who have paid any attention to works of Greek sculpture must have observed that, in reliefs of an early period from Asia Minor, the dress both of men and women differs from that to which we are accustomed in later art, being more elaborate, and of an oriental type. Such works as the beautiful Harpy Tomb of the British Museum or the Treasury of the people of Cnidus at Delphi show this. On the Harpy Tomb, not only do the women wear the Ionian dress, but the men are clad in very similar fashion, in long chitons reaching to the ground.

In days before the Persian wars more luxurious fashions of dress spread from Ionia to Athens; and many figures of early Attic art are clad in Ionian fashion, not women only, but men. Thucydides, in a well-known passage, refers to this influence of Ionian manners: "It is not long," he says, "since the older and more luxurious of the Athenian men left off wearing the linen (Ionian) chiton." We know that in the time of Peisistratus Ionian artists were working at Athens, that the Ionian epics of the Homeridae were recited at festivals, and that Miletus influenced Athens more than Athens Miletus.

[1] *Herodotus*, V., 87.

As regards the interpretation of the Ionian dress as we find it in art, opinions differ widely. The discussion has mainly turned on the dedicated female figures from Athens,[1] many of which are clad in the Ionian fashion (Fig. 35); but to make out exactly how many garments they usually wear, and how they are arranged, folded, and put on, is a matter of extreme difficulty. There can be little doubt that the purpose of the artist to produce a charming general effect, a purpose in which he is entirely successful, has made him take great liberties with the anatomy of the dress. The present not being a treatise on Greek dress, but merely an attempt to make it more intelligible to the student, I will confine myself to a very brief account of the Ionic dress.

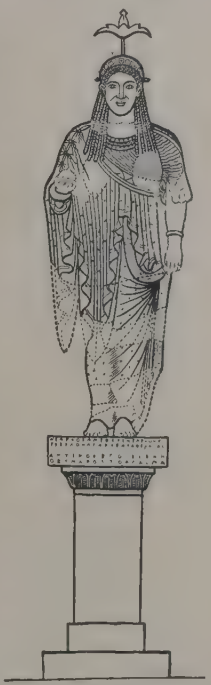


FIG. 35. — Female figure by Antenor. Restored by Studniczka.

It consisted of two parts. First there was the chiton or undergarment, which was of linen. Its softness of texture is indicated on the figures by wavy parallel lines; though sometimes, where it is subject to any strain, straight lines are substituted. It has sleeves down to the elbow, and encases the body from neck to feet. But whether it was sewn into shape, or held in shape by small fibulae, is a complicated question. Professor Baldwin Brown accepts the second alternative.[2] He thinks that the Ionian chiton was a mere oblong piece of linen,

[1] These are described in great detail by Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole*; and by Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*. See also Abrahams, *Greek Dress*, p. 73; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. VIII.

[2] See his papers in the *Burlington Magazine*, December, 1905: "*How Greek*

the sleeves produced by fastening with fibulae, and thus it closely resembled the Dorian chiton, of which I shall presently treat. But most authorities think that in many cases the garment was sewn at the sides. In the second place there was one, in some cases there seems to be more than one, overgarment or ἐπίβλημα. In the putting on of this there is great variety. In any case it was not sewn, but was merely an oblong piece of cloth draped about the body. Sometimes it was worn over both shoulders in the manner of a shawl. Sometimes it was fastened with a fibula on one shoulder and passed under the opposite shoulder and arm. Usually it was doubled over; sometimes the upper line was held in position by a band passed over the shoulder. Sometimes it was worn just like the Dorian himation or cloak, to which we shall presently turn. Whether besides this overgarment a separate veil or κρήδεμνον was worn, is again a difficult question.

The male figures, and at least some of the female figures, on the Harpy Tomb are clad in the sleeved Ionic chiton, over which they wear an overdress, which seems to be draped by its own weight only, and to require no fibulae.

The Ionic was not, however, the primitive Hellenic dress. Herodotus (v. 88) tells us, no doubt truly, that the real national Greek dress was the Dorian, whereas the Ionian dress was adopted by the Greeks of Asia from their neighbours, the Carians. After the Persian wars there came a strong reaction against all the effeminate Oriental ways which had begun to corrupt the manhood of Greece, such as the use of elaborate coiffures and of trailing robes. And henceforth the Ionian dress gives way in art, and the Dorian takes its place, though the change does not take place all at once — rather by a slow process which lasts for half a century; thus we often find a

Women were dressed." In any case the practical experiments of Professor Brown are valuable.

combination of the Ionian and the Dorian dress on monuments.

There are two garments which belong especially to the Dorian dress, whether of men or women: these are, the sleeveless chiton and the cloak, whether the ample *himation* or the smaller *chlamys*. Dorian girls are usually represented in art as clad in a single heavy chiton, or garment without sleeves, hanging from the shoulders and fastened upon them by two

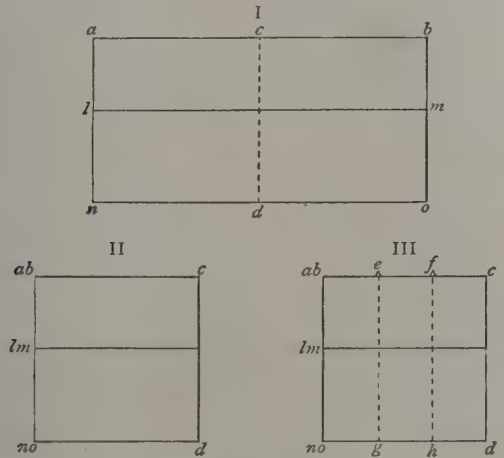


FIG. 36. — I., II., III.

heavy clasps or fibulae. A closer examination shows that this garment is often not in any way sewn or made up, but consists only of an oblong piece of cloth folded in a particular way. The above three diagrams will show how it was put on. An oblong piece of material was taken (Fig. 36, I.), *lmon*,[1] and doubled over at the line *ab*, when it presented the form *abon*, where the portion *am* is doubled, an overfall. This was again doubled at the line *cd*, and folded backward so as to leave the

[1] From Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 53.

flap *lmc* visible (Fig. 36, II.). The person putting it on would now stand inside it, that is, between the two folds, at *efhg* (Fig. 36, III.) and fix with clasps the front and back portions together over each shoulder at *e* and *f*. She would then let the cor-

FIG. 37. — Girl from Herculaneum.

ners *ab* and *c* fall, and the whole garment would be disposed about her as in Fig. 37. In this figure, however, we notice beneath the line of the overfall *lm* a second line which freely undulates. This is produced by fastening a girdle round the waist, and by its help drawing up the lower part of the chiton

and letting it fall over the girdle, thus producing the so-called *kolpos*. Often in figures thus clad there is a break in the stuff down the whole right side of the figure, whence we can understand that this garment when worn alone was better suited to indoor life than to that out of doors, though the Greeks were by no means as squeamish as we are in the matter of displaying the bodily forms.

The Doric women's chiton was commonly worn alone, and so may be considered as either an under- or an over-dress. It would, of course, be possible to wear under it a shift, such as in fact we see on one of the figures on a sculptured drum of a column from Ephesus. Or it would be possible to wear over it the cloak, or himation, of which we shall presently speak. But usually when this cloak is worn the chiton is less ample and the overfall is dispensed with. Like everything Greek, the garment admits of many simple varieties without losing its essential character. For example, when the huntress Artemis wears the Dorian chiton, she sometimes girds it up so that it does not fall below the knee. Sometimes the open side of the garment seems to be sewn up. Often sleeves are made by joining on the arm by means of clasps or buttons the front and back portions of the dress. When this is done, it is sometimes not easy to distinguish between the sleeveless Doric, and the sleeved and sewn Ionic chiton. In fact, as we shall presently see, in the case of the great art of the fifth and fourth centuries, the underdress is very often something between the Doric and Ionic type, and evidently made of soft materials and of ample dimensions.

The Dorian dress, unlike the Ionian, is by no means the same for men and women. The chiton, or shirt, of men was in form not unlike the Doric women's chiton, but was far less ample, often coming but halfway down the thigh. Instances abound, for example, in the Parthenon frieze. Like the women's chiton, it was ordinarily fastened on both shoulders; but the

workmen when at work, the smith-god Hephaestus for example, would usually gird it under, not over, the right arm, so as to leave that perfectly free for action.

The Doric cloak, or himation, was worn by men and women alike as an outer garment. The women's cloak would usually be of finer material; the men's more adapted to practical purposes. Its form is as simple as that of the chiton, but it is somewhat less oblong. It consisted (Fig. 38, I.) of a square of cloth, *abcd*, doubled over at the line *lm* so as to take the form *lmcd* (Fig. 38, II.). This was then taken up and the point *x* placed on the left shoulder, the part *xmbc* falling over the chest.

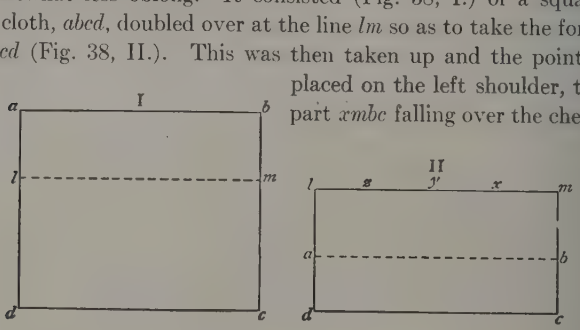


FIG. 38.—I., II.[1]

The part *xyzl* was then brought round the back of the body, the point *y* passing under the right arm, which was left quite free. It was further brought round the chest until the point *z* reached the left shoulder, when the remainder, *zl*, was gathered together and thrown over the arm or the back. We thus reach the result shown in Fig 39.

It will be observed that in the case of this garment there is no fastening; it is held in place by its own weight and by the arms.

It is obvious that a garment of this kind is not adapted to be worn when the wearer is on any active employment, nor for walking about in wind and rain. It was like the blanket of the

[1] Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 55.

Indian or the overcoat of the soldier, carried about to be used for any necessary purpose. It is also obvious that it could be put on in a great variety of ways, so as to produce a number of artistic effects. Women would very commonly pass it not under the arm, but over both shoulders, in which case they would be warmly wrapped up, but scarcely capable of any active movement of hand or foot. If we judged by statues, we should suppose that while women always wore a chiton, or shirt, under the cloak, the men usually wore no other garment. But a study of vases corrects this impression. Men are there very commonly represented as wearing the chiton as well; and one sees clearly that the sculptor usually omitted the chiton in order to display the nude forms of breast and shoulder, just as in the case of soldiers he usually omits the body armour of breastplate and backplate, the stiff lines of which would be in sculpture unpleasing. Occasionally in sculpture, as in the case of the Bearded Dionysus and Mausolus, we have a male figure wrapped in ample chiton and himation. This is doubtless the state or formal dress which men of mark wore on occasion.

FIG. 39. — From a Greek Amphora.[1]

[1] Ashmolean *Catalogue*, Fig. 25.

The case of women in the great art of Greece after the Persian wars is much more complicated. Young girls and the virgin goddesses, Athena and Artemis, usually wore the Dorian chiton, sometimes with an overdress. In the middle of the fifth century we find on vases the Doric and Ionic dresses freely intermingled in the case of groups of girls. There is something of the kind on an Attic krater from Falerii here figured (Fig. 40).[1] But here, as in later art commonly, though

FIG. 40.

the dress of some of the girls is in principle Ionic, it is in fact between the two types, as the undergarment is neither sleeveless nor with sewn sleeves, but has sleeves made by joining the edges of the garment with brooches. And the overgarment is put on in the Dorian way; that is, held by its own weight and not fastened on the shoulder by a fibula. But in other cases the overgarment is fastened with the fibula, and in others we have the simple Doric chiton, with overfall and *kolpos*. We may cite as

[1] Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 17.

examples of later quasi-Ionian dress the Fates of the Parthenon Pediment (where Iris wears the Dorian chiton), Artemisia from the Mausoleum, figures on the columns of the Artemisium of Ephesus, and so forth.

It is commonly supposed that the veil of women is a separate article of dress. Sometimes it is so, as in the so-called *Giustiniani Vesta;* but more commonly the veil is made by bringing the end of the garment, whether over- or under-garment, forward over the top of the head.

An outer garment largely used by men, especially young men, is the chlamys, properly the cloak of the cavalry soldier. This was an oblong piece of cloth, fastened by a brooch on the right shoulder, so as to cover the left arm, but to leave the right arm free. On horseback the left arm would hold the reins, and needed protection; the right was wanted for the whip or lance. The so-called Phocion, and some of the youths of the Parthenon frieze, wear the chlamys, which is often also worn by the huntress Artemis and Amazons.

I do not propose to examine in more detail the Greek dress as worn by men and women. My purpose is not to write an account of the actual habits of the Greeks in their daily life in the matter of dress; for that the reader must consult some of the many works which deal methodically with the subject. I only wish to explain to those who study the works of Greek art what is the kind of dress represented in it. It will be seen that, speaking generally, and omitting the Ionic chiton, the garments depicted in Greek sculpture and painting are merely square or oblong pieces of cloth cunningly folded, and so arranged, partly by their own weight and partly by the aid of fibulae, as to present a beautiful effect. If a modern costumer is set to produce Greek dresses for a classical drama, he adapts them with a multitude of tucks and strings and buttons. He may perhaps be following a necessity of the modern stage

with its violent action, but he certainly does not succeed in producing anything Hellenic or classical.

It is more to the purpose of a work which endeavours to trace the principles of Greek art to show how out of such simple materials as those which made up Greek dress there arose monuments of imperishable grace and charm. Nothing, not even the demonstrations of Euclid, furnished a more characteristic illustration of the Greek power of reaching, by the most simple and direct ways, results which belong to all peoples, and set a standard of taste for all future ages.

Down to the time of the Persian wars the Ionic and Doric fashions of dress existed side by side without much intermingling. In Ionic art, the sculptor reaches ever fresh results by contrasting the fine and delicate folds of the linen chiton with the straighter and heavier folds of the overgarment. The chiton, soft and clinging, only partially concealed the beauties of the form beneath. The outlines of the breasts and the limbs of women show clearly in such early works as the Harpy Tomb, but there the lines of the chiton are straight and parallel, and are not much modified by the forms of the body. The same is true of the Corae from Athens. Charming and coquettish as these statues are, the pleasing variety with which the garments are draped is one thing, the body beneath is a separate thing, which though in outline visible, has not much individuality.

Meantime in Peloponnesus the statues of women are draped in the heavy Doric chiton or peplos, the lines of which fall perpendicularly to the feet, and reveal little of the form; the neck and arms are bare, but the rest of the body is inserted, as it were, in a sheath, only sometimes the parting of the chiton affords a glimpse of the side and thigh.

But the charm of the Ionian Corae gained more and more on Greece. They became the rage at Athens in the time of the Peisistratidae. And the sculptors of the temple at Aegina,

though their art is essentially Doric, yet when they set up draped female figures on the top of the pediment as acroteria or finials, copied the Ionic model.

During the first half of the fifth century the two styles ran side by side, each developing in its own way. Ionizing artists increased the fineness of the folds of the chiton, and constantly refined the details. They also learned more and more to cause the chiton to cling closely to the body, so as rather to reveal than conceal its charms. This tendency governed the Attic school of Calamis and Callimachus; their most complete success is reached in such works as the Aphrodite of Fréjus in the Louvre (Fig. 41), in which the overgarment is used as a background merely, and the undergarment only heightens the charm of the form which it in no way hides.

Meantime artists of severer type, such as the sculptors of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, and the Boeotian Myron, tried to add grace to the severity of the Dorian chiton. By this way they could not rival the sensuous triumphs of the rival school. Yet nothing could be more pleasing than the girl-Athena of Myron,[1] with slight form and undeveloped bosom, but a wonderful mixture of purity and charm (Fig. 42).

But in the nature of things the refinement of the Dorian dress could not go very far, for it was of the very essence of that dress to fall perpendicularly and to swathe the body. By Pheidias it was adopted for girls, and for the austere goddess Athena. He could only refine it by making the lines over the breast more adapted to the form of the bosom; and by drawing back one foot and showing the outline of one leg under the chiton, he found some compensation for the complete concealment of the other leg. Among the figures of the Parthenon pediments, Iris, the girl messenger, shows how by rapid motion the Doric dress can be made to lose its stolidity; and the three Fates fur-

[1] This figure has recently been identified in a statue at Frankfort, here repeated.

FIG. 41. — Aphrodite of Fréjus.

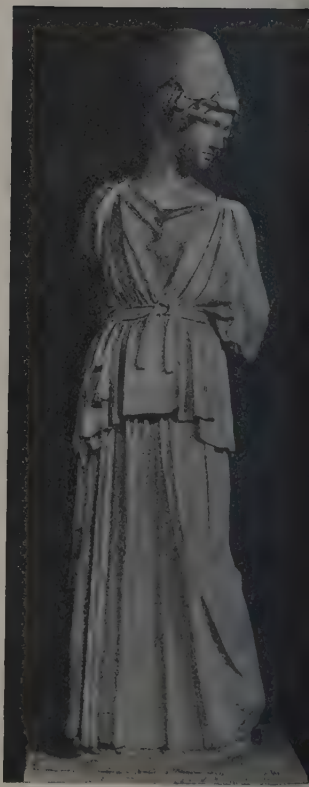


FIG. 42. — Athena of Myron.

nish a wonderful instance to show how worthily the Ionian dress may be used; the massive beauty of the forms is scarcely more than toned down by the extremely beautiful lines and folds of the dress: body and dress are combined into an unity.

In the fourth century variety in dress is constantly increasing; and the growing mastery of sculptors finds continually new adaptations. We see these in the sculpture of the Mausoleum as well as anywhere. In the noble figures of Mausolus and his wife Artemisia we have examples of the Ionic dress used in a wonderfully dignified way; no statues could be more stately or more commemorative; naturally in such figures the artist does not go out of his way in search of sensuous effects. But this can hardly be said of the sculptor of the Amazon frieze, who tries many experiments with the scanty Doric chitons of the woman combatants, whose underlying femininity he cannot forget. (See Fig. 28.)

In such works as the basis of Praxiteles from Mantinea, where the Muses are portrayed, or in the mourning women of the sarcophagus of Constantinople, we perceive to what a number of beautiful schemes of dress the two simple garments of the Greek lady can be adapted. No two figures are altogether alike; and it would be hard indeed to award among them the palm of beauty. Still greater variety exists among the delightful terra-cotta statuettes from Tanagra and other places; and in their case the beauty of form is enhanced by the bright colouring of the garments.

But Greek representation of dress, no less than Greek architecture, has the defects of its qualities. In the fourth century we find the beginnings of a tendency to dwell upon the beauty of the lines of dress for their own sake, and not merely because they enhance the beauty of the person to whom the dress belongs as a whole. Even in the exquisite figure of Victory fastening her sandal, from the balustrade of the temple of Nike at Athens, one may trace something of this tendency; the folds

of the garment draw away one's attention from the Victory herself and her relation to the group of which she is a part. Another tendency, which is visible even on the frieze from Phigaleia in the British Museum, but is more notable in later works like the frieze of the monument of Lysicrates at Athens, is to use garments or parts of garments to fill vacant spaces in a relief, using them as a decorative background, rather than in accordance with their true nature. This is, in fact, turning garments into drapery. It may perhaps be regarded rather as a continuation of the old *horror vacui* of archaic art than as a new departure. But whatever its historic origin, it represents that tendency of the Greek mind to mere show, to visible effect, which is embodied in the case of literature in the rhetorical impulse.

P. S. The reader may with advantage consult the useful plates of Greek costume arranged by Dr. Amelung and published by Koehler, of Leipzig. These are very satisfactory, and if studied will save the student from many mistakes. Dr. Amelung's nomenclature differs somewhat from that which I have used. The Dorian chiton he prefers to call the peplos, a name for which there is some authority.

CHAPTER XI

PORTRAIT SCULPTURE

The notions as to ancient portraiture ordinarily current among scholars are quite erroneous. It is commonly supposed that the Greeks neglected this branch of art, that their talent did not lie in the direction of portraying individuals, and that it was reserved for the Romans to produce portraits which we can admire. This notion is exaggerated, and indeed false. It is true that in the great time of Greek art between the time of Pericles and that of Alexander, the sculpture of the Greeks was so strongly directed to the ideal that even their portraits seem to us somewhat impersonal and unreal. But the Greek artists of the third and second centuries have bequeathed to us a magnificent series of portraits, some of the very highest class. It is also certain that the finest of the portraits of Romans, those of the time before Augustus, are of Greek workmanship. As to the portraits made under the Roman Empire, we cannot be sure whether they were made by Greeks or Romans: but it is almost certain that the best of them are by Greeks; and even the Romans who made portraits had all studied in Greek schools, and all of them who are of any account carry on the line of Hellenistic portraiture.

Few people have any notion of the number of Greek portraits which have come down to us. They abound in all great museums, and are to be counted, not by the hundred, but by the thousand. In the museums of Rome especially they abound. Of the portraits of Euripides, Bernoulli catalogues twenty-six examples; of those of Demosthenes, thirty-two. Of Greek and

Roman portraits, there are already published in Bruckmann's series eight hundred and seventy plates; and these figure only carefully selected specimens. The field is almost inexhaustible.

Until lately any satisfactory study of ancient portraits was impossible. The *Iconographie* of Visconti was completely out of date, and there was no work to supersede it. But of late years a magnificent series of photographs of portraits has been published by Bruckmann of Munich. A large series may also be found in the recent book of Dr. Hekler.[1] Bernoulli's great works on Greek and Roman iconography are most valuable, although, as he arranges the portraits under the persons portrayed, and not by period and school, he is not satisfying from the artistic point of view. Writers such as Michaelis, J. Six, Winter, and Studniczka have published valuable papers on detached portraits. It has become possible, at all events, to survey the field, although it will be a long time before its surface becomes hard enough to bear the tread of the archaeologist who is not specially trained.

As a set-off to its undeniable attractiveness, the study of iconography offers great difficulties. In the first place, though we possess a great abundance of portraits, it is only to a minority of them that we are able with any certainty to assign names. Ancient busts are seldom inscribed with the name of the person they represent, and where such inscription exists, it is often not to be trusted, being a later addition. When a personage is represented on *coins*, we are able with certainty to determine his features: coins help us greatly in the case of kings and emperors; but philosophers, poets and even great statesmen very seldom appear on coins, and for their identification we have usually to resort to less satisfactory evidence.

And there is a second difficulty, which in many cases is quite insurmountable. Unless we have several portraits of a man,

[1] *Greek and Roman Portraits*, 1912.

by different artists and in different styles, it is impossible that we can say with certainty how much in a given bust is due to the subject portrayed, and how much to the style of the artist. Each great sculptor of Greece had a way of his own for the rendering of such features as eyes and mouth and hair, and between all the works of each artist there is a certain cousinhood. Every one knows that this holds also of modern artists; the portraits of Holbein and Vandyke and Lely fall into separate classes. There is a general likeness between all the ladies of the court of Charles II, and between all the men of the age of George III, and so on; and it is not possible to say how much of this general similarity is due to the kind of human being, and how much to the school of artists. If we want to know what a man represented in a picture in our galleries was really like, we try to subtract the peculiarities, what is called the personal equation, of the painter. But in the case of ancient portraits we seldom know who was the sculptor, or even what was the school. Thus we are likely, in most cases, to regard as a quality of an individual what is really an indication of artistic style.

Another great drawback in the study of ancient portraits is that very few of them are of contemporary work, not many even are Greek originals. The great mass of them are found in Italy, and served for the decoration of Roman villas.[1] A wealthy Roman who affected Greek letters would set up in his house a series of portraits of Greek poets and dramatists, one who affected philosophy would erect busts of the Greek philosophers or the seven sages. Thus the surviving portraits were mostly produced at well-known workshops in response to a half-educated demand; and we cannot expect them to do more than repeat a traditional type; the fine points of the originals which stood at the head of the tradition would be lost. An exception to this rule is to be found in the great series of heads of generals or strategi and of trainers of youths (cosmetae)

[1] This is made especially clear by the letters of Cicero to his friends.

which have been found at Athens, and which are originals, though mostly of inferior work, and, in the case of the cosmetae, of the Roman age, when the race at Athens had become mixed with all sorts of elements. Original portraits were commonly made of bronze; the best notion we can attain of them is gained from some of the bronze heads from the great villa at Herculaneum, now in the Museum of Naples. But, in spite of these difficulties, we cannot give up the study of ancient portraits. We are only warned by them to move with great caution, and to beware of hasty conclusions.

As regards the value of portraits we have the striking testimony of a man who was far more literary than artistic. Thomas Carlyle wrote: "Often I have found a portrait superior in instruction to half-a-dozen written biographies, as biographies are written; or rather, let me say, I have found that the portrait was a small lighted candle, by which the biographies could for the first time be *read*, and some human interpretation made of them."

The series of Greek portraits which have come down to us stand in relation to ancient art in much the same position as do the biographies of Plutarch in relation to ancient history. Plutarch is not specially valuable as giving us an actual record of events, as to which he is inaccurate; but he is splendid as a delineator of types of character, and for making personalities stand out against the historic background. He altogether captivated our fathers in the "spacious times of great Elizabeth," and did much to form the ideal of manliness and noble ambition which inspired such men as Grenville and Raleigh. The portraits also bring before us a splendid series of types of male and female beauty, and might well serve to counteract the lowering and degrading effects of modern fashion, and to raise our ideal of physical beauty. In judging them we must try to liberate our eyes from the yoke imposed on them by photography, which by its literal superficial accuracy indisposes us to look beneath

the surface, and makes conformity to obvious fact more attractive to us than conformity to underlying idea and character. The Greeks were free from such temptations; their portraits are largely based on memory, and in the case of poets certainly modified by the character of their literary work.

In the archaic age of Greek art, and down to the middle of

FIG. 43. — Head and hand holding discus: Athens.

the fifth century, portraits can scarcely be said to have existed; at least it is impossible to distinguish them from the sculptural types of which they were modifications. In such statues as those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, of which we have copies at Naples, we cannot find any trait which is distinctly personal. The young head of Harmodius and the bearded head of his friend would, apart from the figures to which they belong, have been set down as a typical ephebus and a typical middle-aged citizen. There is, however, extant at Athens an archaic head

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in relief from a grave-monument which has in it more of the portrait (Fig. 43). The hair is treated quite conventionally; and the eye is represented in a very helpless way; but the nose with its arched bridge is peculiar, and can scarcely be matched in monuments of the period. It seems likely that the young man portrayed had a nose of noteworthy form; and that the artist, having noticed this feature while his model was alive, tried to reproduce it on his grave-relief.

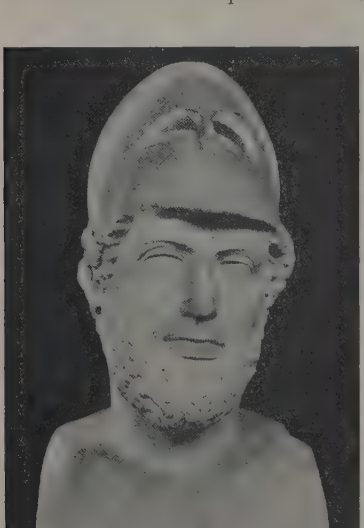

Fig. 44. Head of Pericles: British Museum.

One or two pieces of sculpture, the originals of which date from the middle of the fifth century, though our copies are much later, may fairly be called portraits. Such are the heads of Pericles and of Anacreon. The former is known in more than one copy. It is strongly idealized, but in the lips especially we may note something of the individual. Pericles wears the helmet which is the distinguishing mark of the general or στρατηγός; beard and hair are simple but elegant; and there is about the whole something of the Olympian calmness which popular repute gave to the great statesman (Fig. 44). We know who was the author of this portrait, the sculptor Cresilas, of whom Pliny says that he gave added nobility to noble men; "nobiles viros nobiliores fecit."

This is a typical ideal portrait. In calling it ideal we imply mainly two things. First, that the artist cared more for the essential and permanent than for the accidental and temporary. The Greeks expressed this by saying that the art of the fifth century was ethical, while that of the fourth century was pathetic.[1] The age of a man is accidental, for he will probably show the same character at all periods of life; therefore in an ethical portrait the age should not be insisted upon, only he should be depicted at his best. George Eliot has well said that we think of a lion as full-grown rather than as old or young. The wrinkles and folds of the skin depend mainly upon age, and these also are accidental, as is the amount of hair and the way in which it is arranged. To such matters late Greek art devotes close attention, but early Greek art neglects them. But the structure of the features and their permanent expression belong to the essence of a man. And the deeper we go into a man, the more we come upon what does not belong to the individual, but to the family and the race. So, in looking at an early Greek portrait, we discern first of all that the person represented is a Greek, next that he is a Dorian or an Athenian, then that he belongs to the class of poets, or statesmen or philosophers; and only on a closer inspection one finds what belongs to the individual. This is quite contrary to the custom of modern art, which wants above all a personal and individual portrait; and it is contrary to the custom of Hellenistic art, which delights in the characteristic, but it is quite appropriate to the age of Pericles, and the ideas of a city-state.

But ideal portraiture aims not only at the permanent, but also at the pleasing. It does not rejoice in caricature, nor does it think that ugliness and beauty have an equal claim to be perpetuated. It makes the best of a man, and portrays him as he lives in the memory of his friends and admirers. I have already mentioned Brücke's view of the accumulation of

[1] See above, Chapter II.

beauty[1] in Greek sculpture; and this accumulation may be seen in portraits as well as in types. All the generals of Alexander bear in their portraits a certain likeness to Alexander himself: they have his noble forehead and eager eyes. Plutarch tells us that his personality made even a defect, his wry neck, popular at court; so there is no unlikelihood in supposing that it affected even the physical type of his followers; and it is still more natural that it should have affected art. Probably the personality of Elpinice, the daughter of Cimon, and of the beautiful Alcibiades affected the art of the fifth century, in the way of making it more charming. The beautiful in the race underlies the beauty of form and feature of each individual of the race.

It is generally said that the art of the fifth century was ideal and generic, that of the fourth century more naturalistic and individual. There is some truth in the saying, as statues of the fourth century break away from the set types, and show a closer study of nature than those of the fifth. But the real broad line of division lies, not between the fifth and fourth centuries, but between the fifth and fourth centuries taken together on the one side, and the art after Alexander on the other.

We have portraits of other great men of the fifth century, of Herodotus and Thucydides, of Sophocles and Euripides, of Socrates and others, but these are mostly so much transformed by later copyists that they can scarcely be regarded as fifth-century works. Among the most authentic portraits of the early fourth century are those of Euripides and Antisthenes, the philosopher. The portrait of Euripides is very characteristic of the poet, the expression is rather cynical and gloomy, but very powerful and meditative. Apart from the inscription, we might have taken it for a philosopher. The head of Antisthenes (Fig. 46), the disciple of Socrates and the first of the

[1] See above, Chapter V.

Cynic philosophers, is much more rugged and furrowed. It suggests to us an interesting problem. About B.C. 380–360[1] there flourished at Athens a sculptor named Demetrius. He

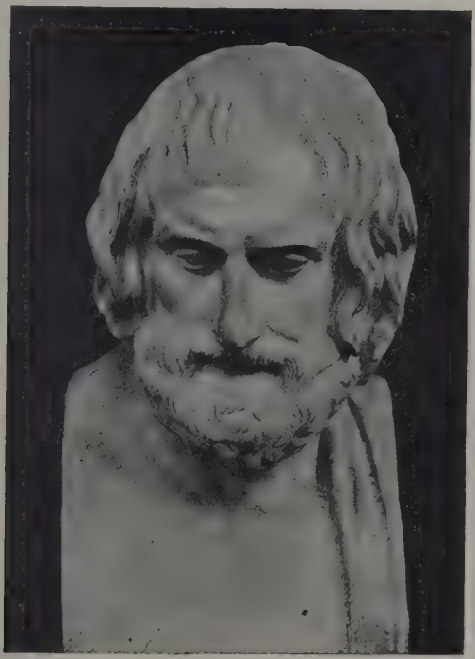

FIG. 45.—Head of Euripides.

was regarded by his contemporaries as a great realist, whence they called him a maker of ordinary men (*ἀνθρωποποιός*), whereas Cresilas was called a maker of statues of great men (*ἀνδριαντοποιός*). Lucian[2] has left us a description of a noted work by Demetrius, a statue of the Corinthian general

[1] The date is fixed by inscriptions; Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, nos. 62, 63.

[2] *Philopseudes*, 18.

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Pellichus; — "a figure with a fat paunch and a bald head, wearing a cloak which leaves him half-exposed, with some of the hairs of his head flowing in the wind, and prominent veins, like the very man himself." Lucian was a good critic, the best

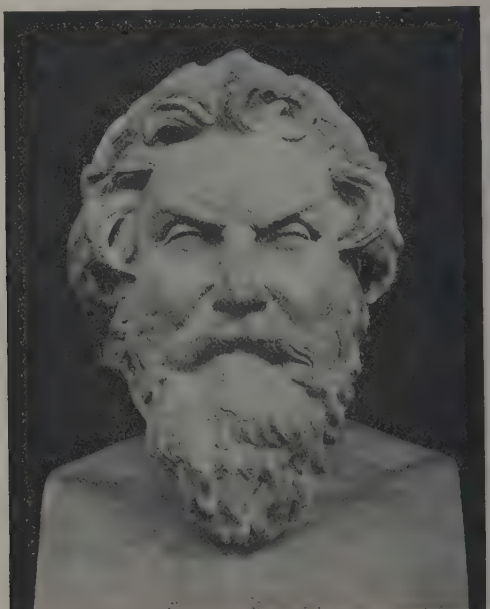

FIG. 46. — Head of Antisthenes: Vatican.

in antiquity; but it is not easy to believe, even on his testimony that a sculptor of B.C. 380 would produce so realistic a portrait as that here described. The "few hairs floating in the wind" especially could scarcely be represented in sculpture of any age still less in the sculpture of the time mentioned. No artist can pass beyond the barriers set by the notions of his time. If we possessed portraits by Demetrius we might understand how

Lucian came to speak of him in this way. Demetrius was exactly contemporary with Antisthenes; and it has been suggested by Dr. Arndt that in the portrait of Antisthenes we may have one of the realistic works of Demetrius. The head bears the name of Antisthenes in its inscription; it has the appearance of being a fine and faithful portrait, and it possesses the two features that its original comes from the age of Demetrius, and that it is notably naturalistic in detail. It is, however, reasonable to think that the excessive elaboration of the skin is due really to a copyist of the Hellenistic age, and not to the contemporary sculptor.

We may cite two portraits as well embodying the idealism of the fourth century. The first is the well-known full-length statue of Sophocles in the Lateran, the original of which was probably set up in the Theatre at Athens in the time of Lycurgus, about B.C. 325, when bronze statues of the great dramatists were made to adorn the auditorium. There could scarcely be a better comment on the plays of Sophocles than this statue, which, in the language of Carlyle, "gives us a candle to read them by." It portrays not only the face of the man, but his elegant dress and his gentlemanly bearing. But the representation is of Sophocles as mirrored in the friendly minds of his admirers. It is eminently characteristic of a poet noted rather for flawless excellence than for flashes of inspiration.

But the most remarkable of the types of the fourth century is that of Alexander the Great. Few men in the history of the world have made a deeper impression upon it. Even to his contemporaries he seemed a god rather than a man, and the results of his campaigns in Asia lasted until Asia was overrun by the Mohammedans. His influence on art was immense. Every great artist of the time endeavoured to portray his features, as Plutarch tells us. There is at Munich a remarkable portrait of Alexander (Fig. 47) as a youth, which is conjectured

to be a copy of a statue of young Alexander set up at Olympia in ivory and gold, a work of the Sculptor Leochares. He is in the act of fastening a greave to his leg as a preparation for battle; the restoration wrongly makes him hold an oil flask. It was, however, considered in antiquity that Lysippus best succeeded in revealing his character (ἦθος) in bronze, and embodying his manhood in visible form. While others reproduced the mere superficial characteristics, the moistness of his eyes and the bend of his neck, they missed his manly and leonine aspect. What is certain is that the lion-like brow, the ardent eye, the bent neck, all become marked features of the sculpture of the time. Not only do all the generals of Alexander seem to echo his physical type, but even Zeus and the Sun-god imitate his forehead and eyes.

FIG. 47. — Alexander the Great: Munich.

So completely was Alexander idealized that we now find it difficult to judge what he was really like. The bust in the Louvre bearing his name, which is often regarded as a realistic portrait, is a miserable work of art, and the appearance of naturalism in it mainly results from its wretched execution. Other portraits slide off into heads of the Sun-god. Two of the most lifelike are those in relief on the magnificent sarcophagus from Sidon, on which a battle and a hunt of the great King are represented. (Fig. 107.)

A little earlier than the time of Alexander is the noble portrait of Mausolus, King of Caria, brought by Sir Charles Newton from the Mausoleum in which he was buried. In my opinion this statue stood, not where it is now placed by the authorities of the British Museum, in a chariot which surmounted the edifice, but rather within a niche somewhere within the structure. It is one of the most stately of ancient works of art, and must have been made by one of the four great sculptors who worked on the Mausoleum, Scopas, Leochares, Bryaxis and Timotheus. The head of Mausolus shows the deep set eye and vaulted brow which mark the known works of Scopas; the drapery of the statue resembles that of the beautiful Demeter of Cnidus in the British Museum. The physical type of the king is not purely Hellenic; the breadth of the face, the length of the hair, the close cut of the beard, are all non-Greek. The type is rather that of a Phrygian or Persian noble. This portrait introduces us to the great series of barbarian types which enriched the Greek repertory in the age of Hellenism.

It is noteworthy that during the period of which I have spoken there are no portraits of women. The heads sometimes published as portraits of Sappho and of Aspasia are merely types. Sappho lived before the age of portraiture, and the Athenians would scarcely have erected a statue of a concubine like Aspasia. Women lived a somewhat secluded life at Athens and other great cities. They appeared in public only on the occasion of festivals

and processions in honour of the gods. Though we possess a number of representations of women in early art, such as the statues of ladies dedicated to Athena on the Acropolis, and though the great cemetery of the Ceramicus has preserved to us many charming domestic groups, in which women take their full share of representation, yet there is in all these figures little that is distinctive or noteworthy, amid so much that is graceful and pleasing. The queens of the age after Alexander were often a great force in politics, and noted for wit and talent; but the faces of them, as they appear on their coins, are much alike. In all parts of the East, to this day, it is regarded as an impertinence to show interest in the ladies of a family; and probably the kings of Syria and Egypt would have been unwilling to set up distinctive portraits of their wives and daughters in public places. The first really noteworthy female portrait that we find on coins is that of the last and most noted of the Cleopatras, whose features are of a decidedly Semitic cast, and who rides roughshod over conventional Greek ideas of beauty, as she did over all other conventions.

A great change came over the art of portraiture, as over all other branches of art, about the end of the fourth century. At that time the closer study of the skin and what lies beneath it produced in portraiture a greater individualism, and a more precise rendering of details. Typical is the noble statue of Demosthenes, executed by the sculptor Polyeuctus about B.C. 280, copies of which have come down to us (Fig. 48). This statue is infinitely more expressive and individual than that of Sophocles, which is half a century earlier. The pose of the man, the simple carelessness of his cloak, the long, lean limbs, the pensive and dour features, bring before us the man as he stood and made in the assembly his fruitless protests against the blindness of the Athenians in paying no heed to the growing power of Philip of Macedon. Beside this figure we can range long series of marvellously characteristic heads of philosophers,

poets and generals, heads both of Greeks and of Romans of the republican age, which put us on quite intimate terms with the men of the Hellenistic age, more especially such philosophers as Epicurus and Zeno, to whom, if we only recognized it, we owe many of the most important modern developments of civilization and thought.

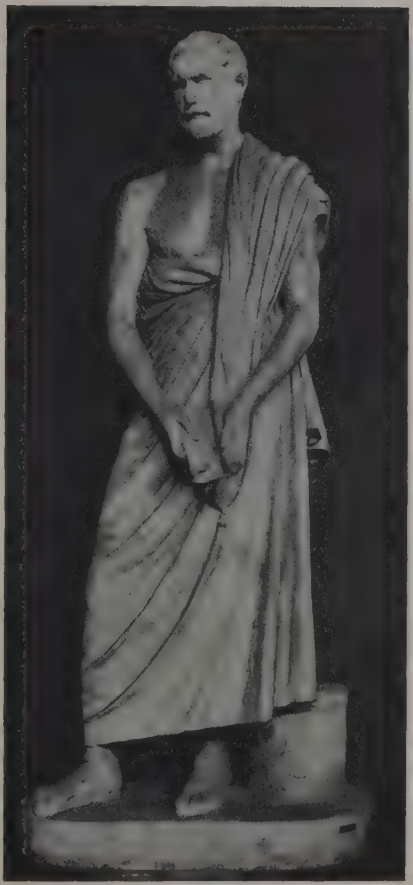

FIG. 48. — Demosthenes : Vatican.

But we observe a curious fact which arouses reflection. The heads of Homer and other worthies of the prehistoric age, which we owe to the constructive imagination of Hellenistic artists, are quite as naturalistic and individual as are the portraits of their own contemporaries. We may therefore suspect, knowing what we do of the Greek artistic mind, that the fine portraits of later Greece are not so much precise transcripts of individual models as due to a combination of a keen realization of

types, combined with a love of rendering realistic detail in such matters as the bones of the face and the folds of the skin. The artist would still work largely from memory, but from a memory more richly stored than of old with exact knowledge of the skin and of what lies beneath. He is still an idealist, but an idealist of wondrous skill in the rendering of life. Such is certainly the kind of artistic action by which such a work as the Laocoon was produced. Probably it was by the same kind of action that both actual and imaginary portraits were made. When one sees a portrait full of character and life, none but a very skilful judge can decide whether it is really like the original or whether it is only lifelike.

Let me sum up in a few words the process we have traced. In the archaic age of Greece it is not easy to distinguish between the figures of gods and those of men: the imperfect ability of the sculptor and his attachment to set types prevent him from giving much dignity to the god or individuality to the man; usually it is only by some touch of naturalism slipping in that we can discern the human portrait. In the first great age of mature sculpture, the age of Pheidias and Polycleitus, we no longer confuse gods and men; but as the gods take the noblest human forms, so men are by the genius of the race kept at an almost godlike level. The typical, the racial, the permanent, is portrayed. An undignified subject, and what is unsatisfactory in the individual, is avoided, and we find the reflex of a noble race in the full flower of development. In the fourth century the ideal is lowered, but we still find that it is aimed at, and with an increasing knowledge of natural fact and appearance. Later, there is a strong drift in the direction of the individual and the actual. Yet the admirable artistic sense of the Greeks prevents their love of the type from disappearing, and preserves them from a mere slavish external copying of the model. Thus they set men before us more in the manner of Plutarch than in that of the interviewer for a modern newspaper.

CHAPTER XII

GREEK PAINTING

We pass next to the consideration of Greek painting. Here, alas! our losses are far greater than they are in the field of architecture and sculpture. The sculpture preserved in our museums, injured though it be, is yet amply sufficient to inform us as to the character and history of the plastic art in Greece, and to enable us to judge it fairly. But the extant remains of the contemporary painting are very few and slight, and by no means adequate to enable us to understand the works of artists like Zeuxis and Apelles.

We are obliged to content ourselves as best we can with two classes of works, the Greek vases of the good period of art, and the fresco wall-paintings of the Roman age found at Pompeii, at Rome and elsewhere. These are all, of course, far below the level of the best Greek art. Of the fresco-paintings of the later age I shall scarcely be able to treat in this work. We shall mainly concern ourselves with vases. And the paintings of vases, however slight when regarded as works of art, are important, as bringing us nearer than do works of sculpture to the mythology, the literature and the daily life of the Greeks.

The true method in this as in other cases is to put together the statements of ancient writers in regard to art and works of art, such writers as Pliny, Pausanias and Lucian, and to compare them with the remains of frescoes and the vase-paintings which have come down to us. Each of these sources of information, the literary and the archaeological, requires the

aid of the other; they may be compared to longitude and latitude in geography. If we know only the longitude or only the latitude of a place, we may try in vain to fix it. In the same way historic record and the examination of monuments apart lead to very vague knowledge. Their combination leads to exact knowledge.

The only systematic account of the early history of Greek painting which we possess is that given by Pliny in the 35th book of his *Natural History*.[1] Pliny tells us, among other things, that the Egyptians claimed the invention of painting; but that according to the Greeks it was invented at Sicyon or Corinth. First there came outline drawings, then inner markings within such outlines, then washes of colour, one colour only being used for a while. One of the earliest colours used was a red made from pounded potsherds. Pliny also gives the names of a few of the painters who made great progress in the art, telling us that Eumares of Athens first distinguished male from female figures, and Cimon of Cleonae "invented catagrapha, that is, figures out of the straight, and ways of representing faces looking back, up, or down; he also made the joints of the body clear, emphasized veins, worked out folds and doublings in garments." Polygnotus of Thasos, Pliny adds, "first represented women in transparent dress, decked their heads with many coloured kerchiefs, and made great innovations in the art of painting, if it was he who showed how to open the mouth, to show the teeth, to supersede archaic stiffness in the face."

It does not do to attach too much importance to statements of Pliny, who is a most careless and inexact author. But he usually writes after reading Greek writers who are more trustworthy than himself. And it is likely that a safe basis for a history of early painting in Greece existed in the scientific

[1] Especially sections 15, 16, 56, 58.

days after Alexander, not in the form of tradition, which would be almost worthless, but in the shape of actual paintings preserved in temples and porticoes, and bearing the signatures of early painters, just as contemporary works of sculpture bore the signatures of their authors. If this be the case, the travellers and collectors of facts in later Greece, such men as Polemo and Eratosthenes, would be able to collect valuable first-hand evidence. Thus it would seem that when Pliny says that such and such a painter "introduced" an improvement, he really means that it is noteworthy in some extant works of his, and not to be found, or at least not to be so clearly discerned, in more archaic paintings.

If we compare Pliny's statements with existing monuments, especially with reliefs and vases, we shall find confirmation of many of his statements. The painting of the Mycenaean age seems to have wholly or almost wholly disappeared with the ruin of that civilization, though it is possible that some of its traditions may have lived on in Asia Minor. At any rate, we find a practically new departure in the drawing on vases of the next age, the geometric. This is partly in outline, partly in silhouette; and Pliny's notion that outline drawing must have been the earlier is perhaps based rather on logical than on historic grounds. But when we come to Eumares of Athens, we have to do with a historic character. We have an inscription found on the Athenian Acropolis, dating from about 530 B.C., set up by the sculptor Antenor, who describes himself as son of Eumares. Eumares would thus belong to the middle of the sixth century. The odd statement that he first distinguished the sexes may mean that in his paintings men were represented with black or red, and women with white, paint, as is the custom in black-figured vase-painting.

Cimon of Cleonae was a contemporary of the poet Simonides; if he was at work toward the end of the sixth century, certainly that was a time when bold experiments in attitude and pose

were being made, and art rapidly breaking away from the trammels of archaism. The red-figured vase-painting was just coming in; and in the light of it what Pliny tells us about Cimon seems full of meaning. In it we find fresh poses, more correct drawing, all kinds of fresh applications of skill. What is meant by the word *catagrapha*, which Pliny translates by "obliquae imagines," has been much discussed; I am disposed to think that it means poses other than full-face and profile; in such the art of the time would be making its first experiments. As an example, I give (Fig. 49) the face of a negro from a vase representing the adventure of Herakles with Busiris in the Ashmolean Museum.[1] It is later than the time of Cimon, but still a very interesting example of an attempt to introduce a new attitude, and indeed a new type. That it was certainly Polygnotus of Thasus who set painting going on new and bolder lines we shall see presently. When Pliny says he began to open the mouth, and to show the teeth, we think of the fallen warrior in the west pediment of Aegina who is grinning in pain. There are many contemporary parallels both in sculpture and painting.

FIG. 49. — Type of negro.

It is worth while to inquire which among the monuments extant in our museums can give us the best notion of what

[1] *Ann.d. Inst.*, 1865, Pl. P.

Greek painting was, when it became really national and really progressive, say in the latter part of the sixth century. As regards colouring, we must fall back on the coloured sculptures and reliefs of the period, which have kept some vestiges of their colours, whereas the frescoes have bodily vanished. Of these I have spoken in chapter VIII. Perhaps such reliefs as the grave-monument of Aristion and the archaic female figures in the Acropolis Museum at Athens (as Fig. 35) are our best evidence. But as regards drawing, we are far better informed: drawings on baked terra-cotta persist. A good example from Athens is a dedicated tablet (Fig. 50) published by Professor Benndorf,[1] representing a warrior charging. The name in the

FIG. 50. — Tablet from Athens.

field, Megacles, which has been filled in over the erased name, Glaucytes, occurs on vases of about 500 B.C. In the case of this tablet four colours are used. The terra-cotta ground was

[1] *Ephemeris*, 1887, Pl. VI., p. 115.

first covered with a yellow slip or layer of fine composition; on the slip brown, crimson and black are superposed, and in the black, inner markings are indicated by incised lines.

But, after all, our best evidence for the character of the painting of the age of the Persian wars is furnished by the splendid series of vases by Epictetus, Euphronius, Hieron, and their contemporaries. Here we have a school of vase-painting of the greatest force and originality, and it is certain that there must have been a contemporary school of fresco-painting which belonged to the same stage of art and went on the same general principles of composition and drawing, though the designs which we have on the vases are clearly composed for the surface of vases and not for mural paintings. It is probable that if we had as detailed descriptions of the paintings of Cimon of Cleonae as we have of the chest of Cypselus, we could restore their designs from the evidence of red-figured vases as successfully as Mr. Stuart Jones has restored the scenes of the chest from the evidence of archaic vases.[1]

Soon after this, about 470 B.C., we come to the great Thasian painter, Polygnotus, who made his home at Athens, and who undoubtedly did more for painting than any one else. His contemporaries, Micon, and Panaenus, the brother of Pheidias, formed with him a great school. And we come now into clearer light, since Pausanias has left us careful and detailed accounts of some of the great paintings of Polygnotus and Micon in the Stoa Poikilé at Athens, and the Lesché of the Cnidians at Delphi. Excellent as are the descriptions, one might almost say the catalogues, of Pausanias, they do not enable us to restore in imagination the pictures he treats of until we reënforce the information of the mind with appeals to sense, and vivify our knowledge by the comparison of extant fragments of painting or the finest designs of vases. If any reader doubts this assertion, he has but to study the attempts

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1894, Pl. I.

to restore the Delphic paintings of Polygnotus made before appeal was made to the testimony of vases.[1] We are now fortunately able to trace with confidence the influence of Polygnotus on some of the vases of the fifth century; and a comparison of these with the descriptions of Pausanias may be said to have given us a fairly satisfactory notion of the drawing and grouping, though not of the colouring, of the great Thasian master. In particular we can trace what kind of perspective he introduced into art, and what ways he had of telling a story or describing a situation. That is to say, we can recover his grammar, if not his poetry.

The Polygnotan perspective, simple and almost childish as it seems to us, really marks the parting of the ways between painting and relief, which had hitherto been frequently combined so as to be almost confused. Polygnotus attacked the problem of representing different sets of people, not in the same plane, but some farther off than others. He did not depict the farther figures on a smaller scale, nor did he (what indeed we could scarcely expect of an early artist working in the bright light of Greece) allow for the effect of atmosphere in making them less clearly visible. But two things he did: first, he placed the more distant figures higher up in the field of the painting, and second, he represented the lines of the irregular hills of the background, hills almost invariable in a Greek landscape, as passing up and down through the painting, and sometimes concealing parts of the farther figures. Professor Robert has skilfully reconstructed on such principles the *Iliupersis* and the *Nekuia* of Polygnotus.[2] A few vases of the middle of the fifth century seem arranged on exactly the same plan. One of these, representing the slaying by Apollo and Artemis of the children of Niobe,[3] on one side, and on the other the Argonautic heroes

[1] See the Vienna *Vorlegeblätter* for 1888, Pls. X.–XII.

[2] Published at Halle, 1892, 93. The schemes are repeated in Frazer's *Pausanias*, Vol. V., pp. 360, 372.

[3] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. X., p. 118.

(Fig. 51), will show at once the character of the Polygnotan perspective. On the left of the larger group a figure in armour may be seen half hidden by the hill. Who he is we shall afterwards consider. At present I wish to observe that we are told that in Micon's painting in the stoa at Athens, one of the combatants named Butes was hidden behind a hill, all save his helmet and an eye; whence a proverb arose, "quicker painted than Butes." This shows how the laws of composition invented by great painters found their way on to vases.

Another prominent feature of Polygnotan art is the use of the method of allusion, alike in indicating personalities, defining situations and telling stories. It is quite in the manner of Greek art, and especially of the great art of the fifth century, to define a character or tell a story not by direct representation, but by a gentle suggestion, which leads the mind on without compelling it. Thus we are told by Cicero that when Alcamenes, the pupil of Pheidias, represented the artisan-god, Hephaestus, he made his lameness appear in a slight and graceful way;[1] and it is just in accordance with this statement of Cicero that we find the lameness of the seated Hephaestus of the Parthenon frieze represented only by the manner in which the god leans on the handle of his mighty hammer, and by the awkwardness of his feet. The grave reliefs of the fifth and fourth centuries at Athens are full of suggestions of death given in this gentle manner; the head resting on the hand implies grief at separation, putting on the sandals means preparation for the last great journey, and so forth.[2] It seems, however, that the prevalence of this manner in Attic sculpture really comes from Polygnotus. For Pausanias, in his description of the Delphic paintings of Polygnotus, tells us that in the picture of Hades Eriphyle was represented with her hand to her neck, to signify that the necklace of Harmonia was fatal

[1] "Leviter apparet claudicatio non deformis." Cicero, *N. D.*, I., 30.
[2] See. P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, pp. 152, 170, 176, etc.

to her, since by it she had been bribed to betray her husband, and Phaedra was depicted in a swing, to hint at the manner of her suicide, which was by hanging. This gentle and graceful way seems to be of Ionian origin. In vases of the fine period it is very prevalent. We need take but one or two examples. In the vase-painting which represents the slaying of Rhesus and his Thracians by Diomedes and Odysseus (Figs. 95, 96) the Thracians are seen to be dead only by their constrained attitudes; the unpleasant marks of a violent death are omitted. In the Orvieto vase (Fig. 51 *a*), representing the Argonauts, it is possible to identify by hints most of the heroes, though their names are not inscribed. Tiphys, the elderly pilot, rests on a spear; Jason, in full armour, face to face with Heracles, stands near the middle of the picture; Castor and Pollux stand on the extreme right and left, one holding a horse, both distinguished by the fashion of their caps. We may also, I venture to think, recognize the figures of Theseus and Peirithous below, from the mere fact that they are seated, since it was their destiny to be fastened to a rock in Hades, and Polygnotus in his picture of Hades (followed in some of the vases which represent the under-world [1]) renders this fastening merely by making them sit on the rock. Virgil must have had such a representation in his mind when he wrote "Sedet aeternumque sedebit Infelix Theseus." So in the figure which is disappearing over the mountains we may with probability recognize Hylas, who strayed away from his companions and was carried off by the Naiad nymphs. We think of Hylas as an effeminate youth, in accordance with the poems of Ovid and Propertius and Pompeian paintings; but in the more manly art of the fifth century he would be represented, as he figured in early legend, as a hero, and one of the Argonauts. He was the friend of Heracles, as Patroclus was the friend of Achilles, without any detraction from his manliness.

[1] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, art. "Unterwelt," Pl. 87.

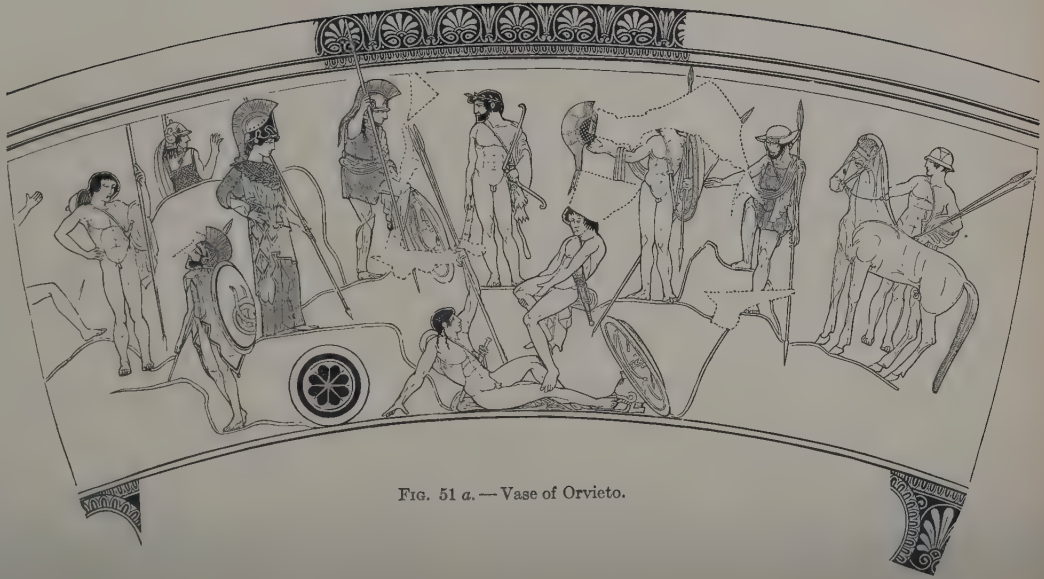

Fig. 51 *a*. — Vase of Orvieto.

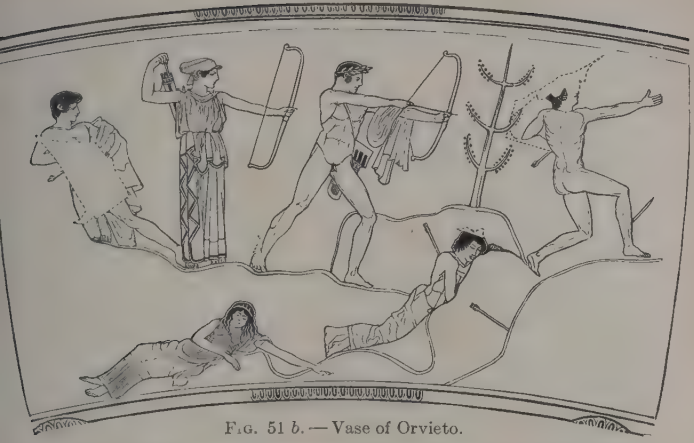

FIG. 51 *b*. — Vase of Orvieto.

On the other side of the vase, in the scene of the slaying of the Niobidae, we notice that a single tree, and that depicted in a summary way, represents the forests on Mount Sipylus. In just the same way, in Polygnotus' representation of Hades, a single tree stood for the sacred grove of Persephone. Niobe herself does not appear on the vase — only three of her sons and one of her daughters, of which four figures two lie dead in the foreground, two fly to right and left.

Can we venture to see between the vase-paintings of this group and the works of the Polygnotan school a still closer connection? Is it possible to prove in any case that the vase-painting is a copy, or at all events a reminiscence, of the mural painting? The range of subjects is certainly the same: Micon painted the return of the Argonauts, and such subjects from the exploits of early heroes were common to fresco painters and vase-painters. Many archaeologists have from time to time not unnaturally attempted to find on vases scenes and groups repeated from some of the great fresco-paintings of Athens and elsewhere. Dr. Klügmann, for example, in his excellent

paper on the Amazons,[1] observes that about the middle of the fifth century a new set of vases comes in at Athens, whereof the subject is the battles between Theseus and his Athenians and the invading hosts of Amazons; and that these vases in common present certain features, such as that the Amazons are on horseback and the Greeks on foot, and that the women warriors are usually clad in the well-known dress of the Persian cavalry, familiar to the Athenians since Marathon. He is disposed to attribute the general character of the vases to the influence of the painter Micon, who at about that time painted in the Stoa Poikilé and in the Theseion at Athens fresco-paintings of the battles of Theseus and the Amazons. This suggestion it would certainly not be rash to accept. But when Klügmann goes farther, and proposes to find in some of the schemes and fighting groups reminiscences of some of the figures of Micon, we feel that he is venturing on thin ice, because, as will abundantly appear hereafter, the customs of vase-painting were so definite and exclusive that it is far more likely that the artists would take details of treatment from one another and from tradition than from the new and bold schemes of a great and progressive fresco-painter. We are here on the borders of a very considerable question. What would seem to us more natural than that an Athenian vase-painter should copy groups of horsemen or chariots, or take poses from the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon? Yet scarcely more than two or three vases can be pointed out which appear to show traces of the influence of the workshop of Pheidias,[2] and only one or two show any close likeness to the pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, or the reliefs of the temple of Athena Nike at Athens. And even in these cases the relationship is certainly not close, and may be disputed. There is perhaps more ground for finding in sculptured relief the influence of

[1] *Die Amazonen in der attischen Literatur und Kunst*, 1875.
[2] See Winter, *Jüngere attische Vasen*, p. 34.

contemporary paintings. We are told that Pheidias worked at painting when young, and his brother Panaenus was a painter. Professor Benndorf has made out a good case for seeing in some of the reliefs of the tomb of Trysa[1] an echo of the paintings of Polygnotus and other Attic painters; but we cannot insist strongly on this line of influence, as its grounds are largely mixed with hypothesis and conjecture, in the absence of the paintings supposed to be copied.

Let us however return to the question of the relations of vase-paintings to great works in fresco. We may best bring this question to a definite issue by discussing a vase-painting which has by good authorities been thus connected.

Pausanias thus describes a painting by Micon in the Anakeion at Athens:[2] "The painting on the third wall is not intelligible without interpretation, partly because it has suffered from time, partly because Micon did not put in the whole story. When Minos was bringing to Crete Theseus and the rest of the tribute of boys and girls, he fell in love with Periboea. And when Theseus was his chief hindrance, Minos cast against him angry reproaches, saying, among other things, that he was not the son of Poseidon, for he could not fetch back the ring which he himself was wearing, if he threw it into the sea. With these words Minos is said to have thrown down the ring, and Theseus [plunging after it] came back from the sea, bringing it and also a wreath of gold, the gift of Amphitrite."

The visit of Theseus to the court of Poseidon and Amphitrite beneath the waters of the Aegean Sea is spoken of in the recently discovered poem of Bacchylides, and it is the subject of some very beautiful vase-paintings. One of these is the

[1] Benndorf, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi Trysa*, *passim*. It is especially the introduction of perspective of a simple kind at Trysa (as on Pls. 12, 13) which appears to point to the influence of painting.

[2] Pausanias, I., 17, 2.

well-known kylix of Euphronius,[1] on which Theseus as a boy is represented as being presented to Amphitrite by Athena. A vase-painting more important for our present purpose, and here repeated (Fig. 52),[2] is of a somewhat later date and of less simple grouping. On the left we see the stern of the ship, whence the fish-tailed monster Triton is bearing the young Theseus to the abode of Poseidon and Amphitrite. This abode is clearly constructed after the fashion of a Greek shrine. Poseidon reclines, like the father of a family, on a couch. Amphitrite, seated near him, holds her golden wreath. Eros pours wine from an amphora into a crater or mixing vessel; an oenochoe close by is ready to be dipped into the crater. Dedicated tripods stand near; a few trees and plants show that Poseidon has his groves as well as Persephone. Above, on the left, is the Sun-god rising from behind the hills in his chariot; above on the right are four female figures, one of whom holds a shield.

Whether these pictures are related to the literary versions of this early exploit of Theseus I shall consider in a later chapter (XVII). At present I propose briefly to consider whether they are related to the picture of Micon. In the first place we may observe that the cup of Euphronius, and some other vases which bear representations of this tale,[3] are too early to be influenced by the picture in question; besides which their composition is altogether after the manner of vase-paintings. The supposition that Euphronius would be influenced by Micon belongs to a stage of knowledge which is now passed. But in the picture of the Bologna vase we may unhesitatingly

[1] Repeatedly figured; see especially *Monuments grecs*, 1872, Pl. I.; Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 182; Harrison and Macколl, *Greek Vase-paintings*, Pl. XIV.; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XVIII., Pl. 14; Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 5.

[2] *Mon. dell Inst.*, Suppl., Pl. XXI. Repeated in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XVIII., p. 277, whence our cut.

[3] They are figured by Mr. Arthur Smith in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XVIII., pp. 276 and foll.

FIG. 52. — Vase of Bologna.

trace the stylistic influence of the school of Polygnotus and Micon. It is apparent in the perspective of the picture; indeed, it is so faithfully followed, that the place of meeting of Theseus and Amphitrite, which is on the vase of Euphronius identified by the introduction of swimming fishes as the bottom of the sea, here becomes a country of hills and of groves. The introduction of the Sun-god into scenes, an introduction which was a noted feature of the art of Pheidias, was probably a Polygnotan innovation. And in the female figure most to the right, we seem to have an example of Polygnotan allusion. The woman holds a shield; and this suggests that she, as well as her companions, is a Nereid; Nereids on vases being commonly occupied in carrying the arms made by Hephaestus for their sister Thetis, and by them borne to the tent of Achilles.

Again, in the somewhat elaborate and variegated dress of the figures on the vase, we may trace a likeness to the style of the great Ionian painter, who adorned his women's hair with bright kerchiefs and gave them transparent robes. That even Triton should wear a chiton must almost certainly be a touch of Ionic art.

But though the vase-painting thus belongs to the cycle of the works of Polygnotus and Micon, yet it is anything but certain that it is an actual copy of the mural painting of Micon. In the first place, we do not know exactly how Micon treated this subject. Pausanias says that he told the story imperfectly, and this reproach could scarcely be brought against our vase-painting. And further, some of the details of the picture seem much more suitable to a vase design than to a mural painting. The treatment of Poseidon as a feaster, by no means unnatural to a vase-painter among whose commonest subjects were scenes of feasting, is scarcely worthy of a great painter like Micon, and the grouping of the upper line of human figures is so completely such as we are accustomed to in late Attic vases, that it is not easy to suppose for it in this case a

dissimilar origin. If there be one feature which is likely to emanate from Micon, it is the group of Triton and young Theseus. On the vase of Euphronius Triton is minute, and is supporting the feet of Theseus; here he bears the youth in his arms, as in the sculpture of the fourth century Hermes carries the young Dionysus. But even on this point we cannot insist.

A definite proof of Polygnotan influence on vase-paintings is to be found in the use on some of them of Thasian dialectic forms. In the inscriptions such forms would scarcely be used save by artists belonging to the school of Polygnotus and

FIG. 53. — Odysseus and the Suitors.

brought by him to Athens. For example, on a beautiful cup from Corneto, of the middle of the fifth century, on which is represented the shooting down of the suitors of Penelope by Odysseus, we have a composition quite of Polygnotan character. Polygnotus is known to have painted for the pronaos of the temple of Athena Areia in Plataeae the subject of the shooting of the suitors.[1] And the relation of the vase to the great painter is further assured by the form ΩΛΥΣΣΕΣ inscribed on the vase in place of the Homeric, Ὀδυσσεύς or the Attic Ὀλυττεύς, Ω for O being a peculiarity of the Parian and Thasian alphabet. (Fig. 53.) With this vase goes another cup from Chiusi[2] on one side of which is represented the washing of the feet of Odysseus, by Eurycleia, and on the other Penelope at her loom. Here it is uncertain whether the first letter of the inscribed name of the hero is O or Ω. On another Attic vase of the same period on which the sacrifice of an ox is represented in a very stately and dignified style,[3] we actually find the signature of a Polygnotus, who can scarcely be the great painter himself, but may well be a relative or dependant whom he brought with him to Athens.

In publishing the reliefs which adorned the Lycian tomb at Trysa, now in the Museum of Vienna, Benndorf cited the vase of Corneto just mentioned, and found a close likeness between its paintings and the Trysa relief which represents in a more complete way the slaying of the suitors.[4] The likeness is indeed beyond denial, and furnishes support for Benndorf's view that in the reliefs from Trysa we may find considerable traces of the influence of the great group of painters at Athens.

In another example recently worked out by Professor Loewy we may discover with still higher probability the influence on sculpture of Polygnotan painting. Most classical scholars are

[1] Pausan., IX., 1. The vase is published in *Mon. d. Inst.*, IX., 53.
[2] *Mon. d. Inst.*, IX., 42. [3] Klein, *Vasen mit Meistersig.*, p. 199.
[4] *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, pp. 102, 105.

familiar with the story, perhaps originally told by Ibycus, how Menelaus at the taking of Troy recovered Helen, and would have slain her, had he not been overpowered by love for her beauty. As told by Peleus in the *Andromache* of Euripides, when he is quarrelling with Menelaus, the tale runs: "When you took Troy, you did not slay the woman though she was your captive; but when you saw her breast, you cast aside the sword, and chose a kiss." Of this incident there are two notable representations on our monuments.[1] Earliest of the two is a vase of the Museo Gregoriano (Fig. 54 *a*), on which we see, on the right, Helen with disordered hair and dress running

FIG. 54 *a*. — Menelaus and Helen: Attic Vase.

towards a statue of Athena for sanctuary. As she flies, she looks back at Menelaus, who pursues her in warlike guise, evidently meaning to slay her. But the sword drops from his hand; between him and Helen stands the stately figure of Aphrodite, from whom a little Eros flies towards the injured husband bearing a wreath. The four figures form a beautiful and balanced composition; the companion of Aphrodite, Peitho, on the extreme left, might have been spared. It is an acute suggestion of Loewy that, taking the vase as it stands, the cause of the casting away of the sword by Menelaus is to be found rather in the interference of Aphrodite, the embodied love, than in any display of beauty by Helen, who is clad, as becomes her

[1] *Wiener Studien*, 1912, p. 282. Loewy was not the first, however, to bring vase and reliefs together.

Spartan home, in the simple Doric chiton open at the side: the visibility of the breasts is only according to the custom of painting at the time. The unpleasant suggestion of Euripides, which is repeated in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, is probably only a sensual misreading of a painted scene such as that on the vase by the Athenian "man of the street." But if so, the source of the mistake could not be a mere vase-painting; there must have been at Athens a noted painting of which the vase-painting is only a reflection: such a painting must surely have been one of the great mural pictures of Polygnotus or one of his contemporaries, which thus represented the interposing of Aphrodite between injured husband and recovered wife. It is to be observed that according to another version of the myth, it was in the temple of Aphrodite that the pair came to terms.

The conjecture just set forth may be regarded as definitely justified by the fact that a closely similar group of four figures, Helen, Aphrodite, Eros, and Menelaus, with a statue of Athena, is repeated on a pair of metopes of the Parthenon, unfortunately very much defaced (Fig. 54 *b*). As the group is not confined to one metope, but runs over into two, it cannot

FIG. 54 *b*. — Metopes of Parthenon.

have been originally designed for the place it occupies: it must be almost certainly taken over from some well-known work of Athenian art; and the close relation which held between Pheidias and Polygnotus would make us look for the original of a

Pheidian group, if anywhere outside the workshop of the master, in a well-known work of the great painter from Thasos.

As the sculpture of the school of Pheidias shows clear traces of the influence of Polygnotus, so we may trace upon some of the finest vases of B.C. 430 or thereabouts so close a likeness to the Pheidian style that we can scarcely doubt that sculpture at the time in turn influenced painting. In these vases we find

FIG. 55.—Attic worthies: Vase from Corneto.

in a high degree the Pheidian qualities of self-control and dignity and charm. According to a striking elucidation by Furtwängler the groups depicted at the sides of the west pediment of the Parthenon represent the families of the early heroes of Attica, Erechtheus and Cecrops. A group of Attic heroes also appears on a very fine vase from Corneto.[1] In the midst is a group of Eos and Cephalus. On the obverse side Ge or Earth holds up the child Erichthonius to Athena, who, in order not to alarm the child, throws her aegis over her back. Hephaestus, the real father of the child, and the serpent-footed Cecrops stand by. The composition of the reverse is paratactic; Aglauros, Erechtheus, Pandrosos Aegeus and the hero Pallas stand side by side without close connection one with another (Fig. 55). The groups of statues in the round of the fifth century were almost always of this kind; the combination of figures into closely knit groups comes later. The statuesque character of the persons portrayed is very manifest; most of them could be directly copied in statues in the round, and such statues would have Pheidian poses. Only Athena, who is leading on her favourite Menestheus, shows more animation.

Painting is a more complicated and expressive art than sculpture; we cannot, therefore, be surprised that its period of highest bloom is later. It does not appear that Greek painting ever reached a higher ethical level than it reached in the fifth century. But unquestionably the great painters of the next age — Zeuxis, Parrhasius, Timanthes, Apelles and the rest — improved the technique of painting enormously, brought in a greater variety of colouring, developed perspective and immensely increased the range of the art. Unfortunately, at this point we lose the evidence of vase-painting, which not only begins to decay, but is driven, so to speak, to despair by the increasing complexity of the great art of painting, of which it can give but the feeblest echo.

[1] *Mon. dell. Inst.*, X., Pl. 39.

We are told that Polygnotus used but four colours — white, yellow, red, and black. But if this were the case, how could he be praised for the *mitrae versicolores* which adorned his women's heads? J. Lange[1] is almost certainly right in his view that it was in representing the nude human body that he confined himself to these colours. For alike in architecture, sculpture and painting, green, blue and brown were used long before the time of Polygnotus, and one cannot understand why he should have abstained, for instance, from using green for the representation of trees. But, doubtless, painters like Zeuxis and Apelles were much freer than he in their variety of colouring.

The colouring of Polygnotus must have been flat and uniform, without much light and shade. The full introduction of this enormously important element into painting was largely the work of the Athenian Apollodorus, who thus embarked on a great sea of discoveries. He is described as seeking after illusion in painting, — doubtless a very primitive illusion, — but the attempt was frowned on by some of the stricter spirits of the time, among others by Plato. Of light and shade in ancient painting we can judge only from the frescoes of the Roman age. Pausias, a contemporary of Apelles, is said to have greatly succeeded with perspective and foreshortening.

There are two other ways, neither of them quite satisfactory, by which we can approach the painting of the later fifth and fourth century masters. In the first place we can make the best of such fragmentary remains of paintings of this period as have come down to us; and in the second place we can feel our way back, with great caution, from the mural paintings of Rome and Pompeii to an earlier and nobler stage of art.

I will mention a few of the most important extant remains

[1] *Die menschliche Gestalt in der Geschichte der Kunst*, p. 66. This is a work full of genial and interesting observations.

of the period. On the key-stone of a grave in the Crimea was found a painting of the head of a woman, crowned with flowers.[1] As in the grave itself there was found a gold coin of Alexander the Great, the tomb can scarcely have been later than about 300 B.C. The painting represents a lady with dark brown hair and eyes. From the back of the head falls a red veil. In the ear is an earring, on the neck a pearl necklace, in the hand and on the head garlands of flowers. But this work, though interesting, is of course the production of a third-rate artist. At a somewhat higher level of art, and more easily accessible to an English student, are the paintings of the celebrated Amazon sarcophagus of Corneto,[2] which are indeed much injured, but in parts fairly clear, and which appear to be by a Greek artist of the second rank. In these paintings eight or nine colours are used. The expression of some of the heads is very striking; and the contrast between the sunburned bodies of the Greeks and the white forms of the women is remarkable. I shall content myself with giving in the text a single example of later fifth-century painting; but, in fact, it is not an example of painting, but only of drawing as a preparation for painting. In graves in the Crimea wooden sarcophagi have been found, to which were affixed plates of ivory, and

FIG. 56. — Ivory Tablet: St. Petersburg.

[1] Figured in the Russian *Comptus Rendus* for 1865 in the exact colours. The original has now faded. The colours are white, red, yellow, brown, green, and blue.

[2] Figured in colours in the plates (36–38) of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1883. The original is at Florence.

other such plates were used to decorate lyres; they were originally painted with bright colours, and still retain incised outlines of the designs. One fragment is here figured [1] (Fig. 56), perhaps belonging to a lyre, and certainly preserving to us very charming drawings of a male and female figure.

Some marble tablets, found at Pompeii and exhibited in the Museum of Naples, bear designs sketched in red which bear the marks of an origin in the fifth and fourth centuries, and in the Museo delle Terme are many pictures from villas in the neighbourhood of Rome,[2] the character and composition of which certainly go back to good Greek times. But such works as these can only inform us how decorative painters composed and drew small groups for the adornment of furniture and houses. They do not greatly add to the knowledge which we have already gained from such works as the grave-reliefs of Athens or the sarcophagi of Constantinople. What would especially interest us, if we could ascertain it, would be how Zeuxis and Apelles used colour, how they composed great paintings, and what amount of expression they put into their works.

As to colouring, we can scarcely expect ever to acquire much knowledge, for colour, when it does not disappear, so greatly changes with time that it gives a false impression. Probably the sarcophagus of Corneto and the Alexander sarcophagus of Constantinople will give us as good information as we are ever likely to acquire on this subject. It would seem that colour was not used in antiquity, as in modern art, in a thousand fine observations and delicate suggestions, but was always secondary to form, just as music was subordinate to poetry in songs. This is what we should have expected; for form is related to intellect, and colour to feeling and emotion. And Greek work, as known to us, is restrained on the emotional side; nor has it any touch of mysticism.

[1] From *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, Pl. 79, 1. The subject appears to be the Judgment of Paris. [2] *Mon. dell. Inst.*, XII., 21, 22, etc.

As regards composition, our information is very defective. We have no descriptions of great works by Parrhasius or Apelles in Pausanias, and the descriptions of paintings left us by such authors as Philostratus and writers of the Anthology have very little value. The greatest pictures of later Greece, such as the Helen of Zeuxis, the Theseus of Euphranor, the Demos of Parrhasius, the Alexander of Apelles, were single figures. It has been suggested that the well-known Pompeian painting which represents the sacrifice of Iphigeneia [1] is derived from a painting of much earlier time. Dr. Helbig observes in regard to it:[2] "The composition is regulated according to the rules of early and strict symmetry: around the central group" (which consists of Iphigeneia herself borne by two Greeks) "we find corresponding to one another, below, the figures of Calchas and Agamemnon; above, Artemis and a nymph. Any crossing of the lines of the figures is as far as possible avoided, so that but little modification would be needed before translating the group into relief. The figures who hold Iphigeneia are represented on a smaller scale than Calchas and Agamemnon, according to the ideal principle of early art, which expresses the importance of various figures by their dimensions. In the garments of the king, Calchas, and the supposed Diomedes, we see clearly the old style of treatment of folds." It has been suggested that this picture may go back to a work of Timanthes, who is said to have painted the subject, and to have represented Agamemnon (as here) with face veiled to hide his grief. But if Helbig's criticism is correct, as I hold it to be, it would point to an earlier stage of art than the time of Timanthes, who was a fourth-century artist.

One of the most striking of all ancient pictures is the Pom-

[1] *Museo Borbonico*, IV., 3. This engraving, which is stylistically quite worthless, is repeated by Baumeister and Roscher *s.v.* Iphigeneia.

[2] *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, p. 283.

peian mosaic representing the charge of Alexander the Great at the battle of Issus. This admirable work would seem to be a copy of a painting made not long after the time of Alexander; and since it is in stone, it has preserved to our day all its colouring and its freshness. Its evidence is of the greatest value, in several respects. I engrave (Fig. 57), from a photograph, the central part, which represents the panic and flight of Darius and his charioteer; to the left are the charging Greeks, and in the foreground a young Persian trying to curb a terrified horse. Lange[1] seems to me to have rightly explained the motive. The attention of both Darius and the young knight in the foreground is concentrated on a young Persian on horseback who has just fallen before the lance of Alexander, who charges from the left. The fallen man is probably a son of Darius. The father cannot help, in spite of his flight, holding out a hand towards him. The knight in the foreground has dismounted to give him his own horse; but it is too late.

Lange considers the original of this mosaic to have been one of the very greatest pictures ever produced. I must not dwell on it longer. But it certainly serves to prove to us that the Greek painters of the fourth century were not afraid of attempting very complicated grouping, and were skilled in foreshortening. The reader may compare the figure of a Nereid, seen from behind. (Fig. 78, below.) And it indicates that they were very successful in that expression of emotion in the face of which Socrates discoursed to Parrhasius. It may indeed be suggested that the later copyist may have in these respects modified his original. But a comparison of the Alexander sarcophagus, a work which has a decided likeness to this mosaic, will prevent us from regarding the latter as in any essential respect a work of the Roman age.

It is more than probable that the influence of the great painters of Greece went on working during the Roman age,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

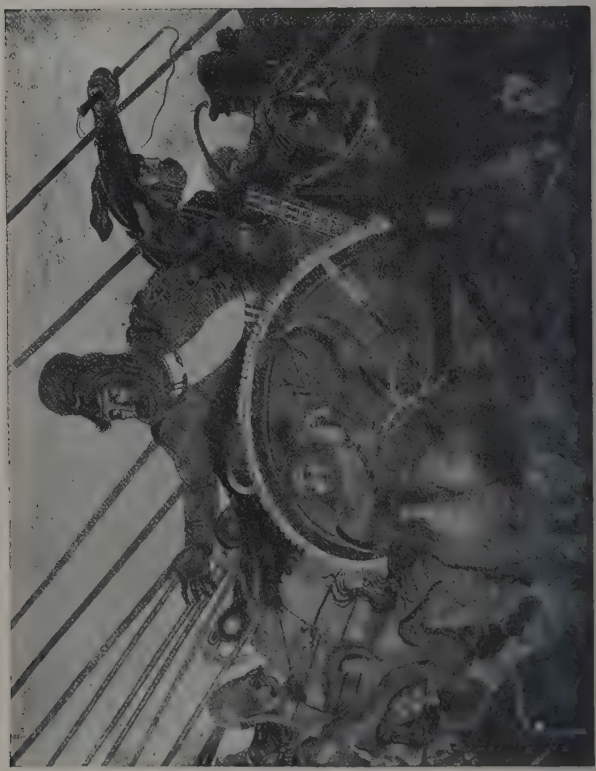

FIG. 57. — Pompeian mosaic.

and that it affected not only the mural painters of the Italian cities, but even the artists of a still later class of monuments, the sarcophagi made under the Roman Empire for wealthy citizens. The subjects of many of these sarcophagi are taken from Greek myth, and the manner of composition of the reliefs is often rather that of painting than that of sculpture.[1] Of these, as of the paintings of Pompeii, I cannot here treat; they offer far too complicated a subject, and one outside the limits which I have accepted.

On the whole, Greek painting through all its history must, so far as we can judge, have shown the same qualities as Greek sculpture. The technical difficulties of painting, which to the end the artists only partially surmounted, and the immense vogue of the art of sculpture, tended to make painting approximate to sculpture far more closely than it does in modern times. And this tendency fitted in naturally with the general character of Greek art, its idealism, its definiteness and its intellectuality. The superior expressiveness and suggestiveness of painting were not fully appreciated in Greece: landscape-painting in particular was always crude and wanting in imagination. It was in the drawing of single figures, the arrangement of groups, in the expression of character and of pathos in human forms, attitudes and faces that the Greek painter excelled. And in these respects even the paintings of Pompeii, which must not for a moment be regarded as examples of what Greece could do in the way of painting, have won very high praise from able modern critics.[2]

It would seem that the lead in the changing tendencies which mark the evolution of Greek art usually belonged to

[1] The sarcophagi with mythical subjects are collected by Professor Robert in the second and third volumes of the great German publication, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*.

[2] See especially the remarks of J. Lange in the second volume of his *Menschliche Gestalt*.

the painter, whose art was naturally freer, and less closely limited by the influence of the school. Cimon of Cleonae may be regarded as having put the last hand to archaic art, which has, even in modern days, great fascination; Polygnotus certainly acted as a forerunner of the great school of Pheidias; Parrhasius and Zeuxis introduced the pathetic tendency which passed on to Praxiteles. The painting of the Hellenistic age, to judge from Pompeii, must have in variety and expressiveness greatly surpassed the sculpture of that age. It is however remarkable that in portraiture the sculpture of later Greece excels beyond all comparison the superficial and vulgar works, mostly from Egyptian sarcophagi, which are almost all we possess in the way of painted Greek portraits. On the other hand, some of the little sketches of Pompeii show a lightness of hand and boldness which are impossible to workers in the heavy materials of clay and marble.

The most important of the recent additions to our knowledge of ancient painting come from excavations at Pagasae in Thessaly, where there have been rescued a large number of painted sepulchral slabs, which had been built into the walls of buildings.[1] These retain much of their original colouring. They belong to the Hellenistic age. At present few of them have been published, and those imperfectly. It is however clear that they are the work of very poor artists: they are as far below the level of contemporary sculpture as are the portraits from Egypt.

[1] Arbanitopoullos, Θεσσαλικὰ μνημεῖα, 1909; also the *Ephemeris Archaiologiké* for 1908.

CHAPTER XIII

CLASSES OF VASES

ALTHOUGH the painting of vases is necessarily among the lower forms of art, a form seldom practised by men of high talent or originality, yet vases are an inestimable record of one side of Greek art. They cannot reproduce the colouring of Greek frescoes, nor the impression of their dignity and charm, but they show us the character of grouping and of drawing in Greek painting. They are first-hand documents, belonging to the best period of art; treating the same subjects as were treated by the great masters, and perhaps in a not dissimilar way. They are mostly from the workshops of Athens, and show some of the finer qualities of Attic work — simplicity, grace, and a wonderful appreciation of the beauty of the human form. And they are especially interesting as treating many of the themes of Greek mythology in a way independent and yet not very dissimilar from that of the poets.

Periods and Schools of Vases. — It is not intended here to give, even in outline, a history of Greek vase-painting. No such history quite suitable at present exists. The best are, in English, H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery;* Harrison and MacColl, *Greek Vase-paintings;* and the translation of E. Pottier's *Douris*, with the catalogues of the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum. All that will be here given is a statement of the principal classes of vases, with their countries and periods.

(1) *Minoan and Mycenaean age.* — The prehistoric record of Greece and Asia Minor has of late years been revealed, age

beyond age, as far back as the Neolithic period. This record consists in great part of pottery, which can be assigned to the respective strata of civilization which preceded the historic age of Greece. Some of it is decoratively very beautiful, especially the so-called Kamareis ware. Such pottery, however, does not come within the scope of this work; first, because it is pre-Hellenic, or at all events separated by a deep chasm from the productions of historic Hellas; second, because it does not, if we except a very few vases of the later Mycenaean age, present to us any representations taken from human life. It is fair to say that the pretty Kamareis ware presents closer analogies to the art of Japan than to that of historic Greece: it can therefore give us no light on the subject we are investigating, the laws and the principles of Greek art.

(2) *Geometric* (900–700 B.C.). — This is the ware which succeeds the Mycenaean in Greece. It is so called because geometric patterns are the kernel of its decoration, and even the figures of men and animals become on it little more than geometric figures. An example will show its general character

FIG. 58. — Geometric Vase in the Ashmolean Museum.

(Fig. 58). This ware undoubtedly belongs to Greeks, to the semi-civilized races who had conquered the wealthy and luxurious Mycenaeans and succeeded to their dominions. It shows close analogies to the pottery and bronze work found in

the north of Europe, and at such sites as Hallstadt, whether the style originally spread south from the Baltic, or north from the Mediterranean. Geometric vases, especially those from the early cemeteries of Athens, furnish us with some interesting transcripts from the daily life of the primitive Greeks, their warlike expeditions, and their burial customs; yet as to real Greek style they give us very little light. They help us rather to trace the origins of Hellenic civilization than to forecast to what it would grow after ages of splendid development.

(3) *Early black-figured* (700–550 B.C.). — In the seventh century the rapid rise of Greek civilization began, and to keep pace with the civilization, the pottery of Greece emerged from its rude beginnings, and began to become distinctive. Receptive, as is often the case when a strong national movement takes place, the potters were quite ready to use and adopt whatever shapes of vases and decorative principles seemed worth adopting from the peoples around. Hence many Oriental motives —

FIG. 59. — Archaic pyxis.

the palmette, the lotus, the lion, the griffin, the winged human figure — appear on Greek vases. These figures mostly appear ranged in horizontal bands, which run round the vases one above another, in a manner usual in the pottery and metal ware of the East. It is interesting to trace the process whereby the human form and tales of Greek mythology gradually make their way amid the animal and plant forms. A good example is a pyxis or box of Corinthian ware in the British Museum [1] (Fig. 59), on the cover of which is depicted a procession of

[1] Published by Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, V., p. 176.

animals, and round it a procession of lions which is somewhat incongruously interrupted by a representation of Herakles discharging an arrow at the triple Geryon, whose oxen stand by in a group. When once the human element has made its appearance on these orientalizing vases, it soon expels the mere rows of animals fighting or walking in line, either to the neck of the vase or to the place just above its foot. Thus almost from the first the Greeks subordinate the borrowed elements to the expression of their own ideas in accordance with their own artistic principles, and we see the style of which I speak under the next head gradually consolidating. Mythological groups and types become established, and artistic tradition arises. In this period there were active potteries in several of the Ionian cities of Asia, such as Miletus, Samos, and Cameirus in Rhodes; while, in Greece proper, Corinth, Chalcis in Euboea, and Athens seem to have surpassed other cities in the potter's art.

(4) *Later* (*Attic*) *black-figured* (550–480 B.C.). — By the middle of the sixth century, Athens seems to have gained the first place in the manufacture of vases, and to have developed a formed and consistent style. The principle of it was to varnish with black the handles, the feet, and the less important parts of a vase; but to reserve certain fields of square, oblong, or circular form, whereon to paint a scene from mythology, heroic story, or daily life. In this style the figures were represented in silhouette — that is, with a wash of black paint, on which, for certain details, white or red were added. The flesh of women was commonly given in white, the hair and beards of men and parts of garments in red. The inner markings were made by a tool in the clay, the silhouette being cut through, and the red body of the vase showing. That we are now in the full current of Greek artistic activity is shown by the fact that many Attic black-figured vases bear the signatures of those who painted them, of such artists as Amasis,

Exekias, and Nearchus. In fact, the vases of this class furnish us with a large number of interesting representations. And these well illustrate some of the fundamental artistic principles of Greece. But the primitiveness and monotony of the method of drawing, combined with the enormous demand set up by the Etruscan custom of burying Attic ware with their dead, caused the production of it to be usually hasty and conventional. Its abundance in our museums is perhaps a misfortune. At any rate, it was like the letting out of water when, towards the end of the sixth century, the red-figured method of vase-painting was introduced, though the black-figured method did not, for perhaps half a century, go out of use.

(5) *Red-figured (Attic); severe* (525–460 B.C.). — In this style the black silhouette was given up for outline figures drawn in black on the red surface of the vase, while the background was painted out in black varnish. The great advantage of the new process was that inner markings could henceforth, instead of being cut with a tool, be drawn with the pen or brush. Thus the formality of the design was greatly reduced, and a path toward freedom opened. What especially distinguishes red-figured vases from the first is the facility and beauty of the lines in which they are drawn. To speak of them as painted is barely correct; the designs are essentially linear drawings, and as such they must be judged. It is in this fashion that the best known of the Attic vase-painters, Euphronius,[1] Oltus, Duris, and the rest worked: their favourite form was the kylix.

The interest attaching to Greek vases certainly centres in the early red-figured drawings. The reasons may be briefly stated: —

(*a*) They are works of Attic artists, of the stirring period of the Persian wars. The sculptural remains of Athens at this

[1] On Euphronius Dr. W. Klein has written a valuable monograph. Lists of works of other painters are given in his *Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*.

time, or at least at the time just after Salamis, are few, but it was as full of interest in the history of art as in political history. Attic taste, soon to give birth to works memorable forever, was rapidly forming under the influence of all that was most noteworthy in the art work of Greece and Asia, which found a focus at Athens. The stately conventions of the archaic period were giving way before the burst of fresh life and energy which was pouring into art under the enthusiasm of triumphant nationality. Decade by decade, almost year by year, Hellenic art was throwing off the limitations of its childhood, and becoming mature.

(β) The school is essentially a school of vase-painting, not merely of painting adapted to vases. The designs were composed with a view to vases, and thus have the intellectual charm which attaches to the study of artistic strivings devoted to rational ends. As a natural result, there is a remarkable freshness about these works. They are strictly architectonic in character, and yet they are perfectly full of the life of the day, representing not only myth, but the drinking-bout, athletics, fashionable life. They combine, so to speak, primness of manner with underlying naturalness, humour, delight in life.

(γ) These vases are very largely signed, and thus enable us to compare one with another the artists of the period. This gives a human, almost a personal, interest to them; we trace the influence of one vase-painter on another, and the variations of style in the works of one man. The vases also bear the names of the most celebrated beauties of the day, painted on them for fashion's sake — such names as Miltiades, Cleinias, Alcibiades, which are so familiar to lovers of Greece. Thus they help the imagination, and add a touch of reality to the narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides.

(6) *Red-figured (Attic); free* (460-400 B.C.). — Towards the middle of the fifth century the influence of the great Greek painters, Polygnotus, Micon, Panaenus the brother of Pheidias,

and others, began to make itself felt in vase-painting.[1] This influence worked both for good and evil. The treatment of perspective improved, the human body was rendered with greater correctness and beauty, and more freedom from convention was introduced. But on the other hand, vase-painting, as such, drifted from its old moorings and took the first move in the direction of decline. The designs, though in some ways showing a greater mastery, are no longer so thoroughly adapted to the field for which they are designed, or the vase which they adorn. We no longer regard them as nearly perfect within narrowly fixed limits, but are disposed to look beyond them to the contemporary fresco works of which they are sometimes a reminiscence. But actual competition with these greater paintings was impossible; hence the vase-painter became less well satisfied with his work, which he now seldom signs. He is no longer ambitious, but has sunk from an artist to a craftsman.

(7) *White-ground vases* (fifth century). — In this style, in place of drawing directly upon the red clay of the vase, the potter first covered its surface with a layer of fine white material. The importance of this difference in technique lies in the fact that the process of vase-painting thus resembled far more closely that of fresco-painting; and fresco-painting, or painting on prepared wet plaster, was the usual procedure in the great art of Greece. As a natural consequence, the designs on white-ground vases are freer and less conventional than those on contemporary red-figured vases, and are not merely drawings but real paintings, the outlines being filled in with washes of colour — red, yellow,

FIG. 60. Lekythos from Athens.

[1] See Winter, *Die jüngeren Attischen Vasen*; also chapter XII above.

blue and brown. In the early part of the century this technique was employed by some of the great Attic vase-painters, such as Euphronius and Duris, and was used for the kylix as well as the lekythos. Later it was almost confined to the lekythi specially made to be buried with the dead,[1] which have been preserved to us in great quantities in the cemeteries of Athens, Eretria and Sicily (Fig. 60).

These beautiful lekythi may well be compared with the reliefs of Attic tombs, which they closely resemble alike in sentiment and in their subjects, which are usually taken from the cultus of the dead at Athens. See chapter IV.

(8) *Red-figured vases; late* (400–300 B.C.). — A few of these appear to have been made at Athens; but the supremacy of the Athenian vases passed away after the failure of the expedition against Syracuse. Most of the late vases were made in lower Italy, especially at Tarentum. The degeneration in vase-designing which set in late in the fifth century proceeds rapidly in the fourth. Though some of the vases of lower Italy are conspicuous for size and elaboration, the designs are in style disappointing, showing softness, carelessness, and want of fixed principle. Some of them are, however, important on account of their subjects, and more especially in relation to the dramas of Euripides.

Forms. — Although the painted vases of our museums were made for decoration, rather than for use, since they are too fragile to be easily handled, or to contain liquid, yet in their forms they resemble the vessels of coarse earthenware or of precious metal which were used in the service of Greek houses. Sometimes, indeed, the forms are evidently closely copied from metal prototypes. It is unnecessary here to detail all the forms used for painted vases, which are in number many hundred;[2]

[1] As to these, see the work of Pottier, *Les lécythes blancs attiques*. Plate II. of that work represents a forgery.

[2] For engravings of forms, see the *Catalogue of Vases* in the British Museum, Vols. II., III., Introduction; also Furtwängler's *Catalogue of Vases* at Berlin, Heydemann's *Catalogue of Vases* at Naples, etc.

we need mention but a few typical examples; for our concern here is not so much with the potter's art, as with the more ex-

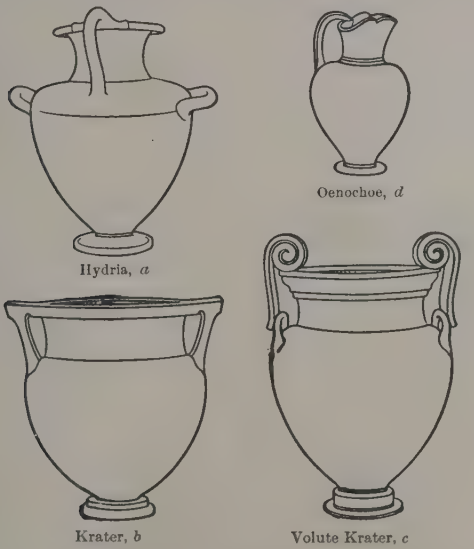

FIG. 61. — *a*, Hydria; *b*, Krater; *c*, Krater; *d*, Oenochoe.

pressive and graphic manifestations of the Hellenic spirit. The chief classes of vases are the *amphora*, an ornate imitation of vessels for storing wine, the *krater* or mixing vessel (Fig.

FIG. 62. — Kylix.

61, *b*, *c*), the *hydria*, with three handles (Fig. 61, *a*), wherein water was fetched from the well, the *oenochoe* or wine-jug

(Fig. 61, *d*), the *kylix* or drinking-vessel, the *lekythos* or oil-flask, the *pyxis* or toilet vase, etc. For the purposes of the vase-painter the most important form was the kylix (Fig. 62), which allowed of a series of connected or complementary subjects. The two fields of the vessel on the outside offered two oblong spaces, the upper and lower lines of which were curved, so that each had a form not unlike that of a pediment, with the action culminating in the centre, while in the interior was a circular field, suited to a group of two or three figures.

In the case of the larger vases, such as the amphora and the krater, the field for the design is usually either oblong or square. In early vases we have commonly a series of narrow bands running round; but as time goes on greater simplicity comes in, and in the best period a simple group which occupies a space roughly square or oblong is most usual (Fig. 63).

FIG. 63. — Amphora, Ashmolean Museum.

A noteworthy point in regard to Greek vases is that the scenes depicted on them have frequently a reference to the purpose of the vase. As the sepulchral lekythi already mentioned bear subjects taken from Greek burial custom, so there appear nuptial scenes on the vases used at marriages, and scenes from the lives of women on the pots which held their unguents. On the kylix appear many representations of the social life of Athens.

CHAPTER XIV

VASES: SPACE, BALANCE, PERSPECTIVE

A Greek Vase as a Whole. — The form, the decoration, the designs, all go together, and are all worked out in relation one to the other. The form requires a certain arrangement of the linear decoration, the decoration suggests the form of the subjects to be drawn on the vase. And all these elements of the vase not only bear simple relations one to the other, but are in themselves simple.

But the vase which is a whole is made up of parts, each of which has a purpose in subordination to the purpose of the whole. The mouth in the oenochoe is made in trefoil shape for pouring, in an amphora wide to admit the ladle, in the crater wider still. The lekythos has but one handle, as it is used for oil, the amphora two, that it may be lifted with two hands, the hydria three, two for the lifting of the vessel and one whereby it may be held in place on the shoulder. The breadth of the foot is carefully proportioned to the diameter of the vase, so as to secure a reasonable stability. Handles, foot and neck, it may be added, were usually made apart, and joined on to the trunk of the vase when shaped, but of course before baking.

Some of the strict rational laws of decoration which we found to be potent in architecture hold in the case of vases also. Here also the parts which bear the most strain are the least adorned, and such decoration as they bear follows the line of strain. The handles, liable to constant friction, are usually not decorated; the neck, if long, is sometimes adorned in linear fashion, as is a column with flutings. In black-figured vases there is a circle

of rays springing upward from the foot, but later this is given up. The design on red-figured vases is commonly bounded above and below by a band of maeanders or other simple pattern, a band which not only frames the design, but seems to hold the vase together. When the shoulder of a vase is broad, it sometimes bears a subject; but this is subordinate to the principal subject, which occupies the main field of the vase. When the shoulder is narrow, as in lekythi, it only bears a pattern. Elaborate palmette patterns often adorn the parts whence the handles spring, and serve to separate the obverse from the reverse design.

As the forms of vases are fairly constant, so the decoration changes but slowly, and persists over long periods of time. Each class of vase preserves its own kind of decoration.

After speaking of the forms of vases it would be natural, before coming to the painted scenes, to treat of the elements of their linear decoration. This is a matter which greatly interests all real students of vases. Not only is it a marvel to see how out of a few simple forms — the maeander, the lotus, the palmette — the vase-painter contrives a considerable variety of graceful borders and designs to fill blank spaces, but also the details of the decoration of a vase are among the surest indications of its date and the place where it was produced. The reasons why the subject is not here discussed are that it is too detailed, and too intimately connected with the whole history of vase-painting. It would also require an impossible number of illustrations.[1]

Conditions of Space. — In examining the designs on a vase, the first thing to consider is the conditions of space. After the very early period, the field on a vase reserved for the designs was clearly marked out, and often bounded by lines of maeanders or other ornament. The ordinary forms of the field

[1] A good, though not very recent, book on the subject of the decoration of vases is Lau's *Die griechischen Vasen*, with the text by Brunn and Krell.

are oblong, square, or round. In the case of the kylix, as we have seen (Fig. 62), the peculiar shape of the designs on the exterior gives them a character approaching that of the pediment. The square field, if simply treated, will resemble that of the metope, and long spaces of small height will naturally lend themselves to continuous scenes such as those which we find in the friezes of temples. Thus all the kinds of decorative sculpture which belong to Greek temples may be said to have parallels in vase-painting.

In the vases of the early classes there is conspicuous what has been called a *horror vacui* on the part of the designer. He has a strong objection to allowing any part of the field of a

FIG. 64. — Vase from Rhodes.

vase to remain undecorated. For this reason, probably, the whole surface is covered with bands of animals, or processions of monsters superimposed one above the other. The *horror vacui* may take a very simple and naïve form. The spaces in the designs which adorn early Ionian or Corinthian vases are filled up with little geometric patterns or rosettes (Fig. 64). In the somewhat more developed works of early black-figured classes, the subjects of which are chariot-groups or simple groups of human figures, flying birds, hares, dogs and other animals are often introduced for the same purpose, and without reference to the subject portrayed. As an example I figure a kylix of the Spartan class (Fig. 65), on which is represented a hero slaying a serpent in front of a temple, while flying birds, a hare and a serpent fill up the field.[1] Another good example will be found in the owl beneath Hermes in Fig. 101.

FIG. 65. — Spartan vase.

Afterwards one may find a survival of the same principle in the skill with which the attitudes and positions of figures are so contrived that they fit one into the other, and so occupy the space that no blank meets the eye. A better example could scarcely be found than a vase-painting of Hiero (Fig. 66), representing a dance of Maenads,[2] where we have a very beautiful composition perfectly adapted to the space at the disposal of

[1] *Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, Pl. XII., 2. [2] *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, A. Pl. 4.

the artist. It will be observed how the thyrsus of one maenad, and the fawn carried by another, fit into spaces of the back-

FIG. 66.—Vase by Hiero.

ground; and indeed every figure is planned with direct reference to its neighbours.

A good deal of what has above been said as to the general characteristics of early art, the law of frontality, and the like, applies quite as much to vases as to the sculpture from which most of our examples were taken; though it is natural, seeing how much easier the brush is to wield than the chisel, that we find transgressions of these unwritten laws of early art more often on vases.

Dr. Löwy formulates the following seven rules as applying to Greek drawing and painting in the archaic age,[1] rules based on the psychologic facts already mentioned (chapter V).

[1] *Die Naturwiedergabe*, pp. 3–9.

(1) The shapes and attitudes of figures and parts of figures are limited to a few typical forms.

(2) These forms are stylized, that is, made into linear schemes either regular or approaching regularity.

(3) The representation of forms depends on the outline, whether this be a linear contour, or made into a silhouette by a filling of even colour.

(4) When colour is used, it is uniform, without introducing degrees of light and shade.

(5) The figures generally offer themselves to the spectator in their broadest aspect in every part.

(6) In a composition, the figures, with a few exceptions, succeed one another in a series, avoiding overlapping or intersection in important parts; thus the nearer and farther is represented by an arrangement side by side.

(7) Representation of the place where a scene is enacted is omitted or almost omitted.

The reader can test the correctness of these views, which must on the whole be conceded, by examining any series of archaic vase-paintings. The first five have perhaps been sufficiently considered at the beginning of chapter VIII. As regards (6) our illustrations abundantly prove that it holds even to the end of vase-painting. (See Fig. 96.) Occasional exceptions, however, may be found, as Fig. 93. Place is, as we shall see in chapter XV, indicated on later vases, but in a summary way.

Balance and Symmetry. — I have spoken of these already in relation to Greek sculpture, and the principles already established apply to the figures painted on vases as well as to those executed in bronze and marble. Greek art is statuesque throughout, or at least seems so to a modern eye, used to the bold attempts and endless experiments of modern painting. But the working of the principles in the particular field of Greek vases requires further explanation.

This subject has been ably dealt with by Professor Brunn in a series of remarkable papers.[1] He traces in sculpture and in vase-paintings the working of that principle of balance and measure which runs through the whole of Greek poetry, philosophy and art. He writes as follows: —

"The tectonic principle is one of the most important factors in Greek art, in the earliest time perhaps even *the* most important. It prevails in the oldest works of art, the geometric vase-paintings, the shields of Homer and Hesiod, etc., and if it be true that the earliest decorative art of Greece shows less clumsiness, laxity and inconsistency than that of other peoples, the reason is that from the beginning onwards it rests on this principle and abides by it as it presses toward greater and greater freedom."

A similar phenomenon meets us in poetry and literature. Rules and traditions, when not carried to the length of formalism, serve not so much to fetter the artist as to give suggestions to him, and to offer him a fair opportunity for the exercise of his talent. Critics sometimes speak of the fatal facility of blank verse, and this facility often drives it in the direction of flatness or in that of over-elaboration. On the other hand, the intricate symmetry of the sonnet is probably the condition which has prompted many really poetic thoughts.

As striking examples of the prevalence of the architectonic principle, Brunn cites the Melian terra-cottas, one of which, representing the slaying of the Chimaera by Bellerophon, is here given (Fig. 67).[2] It is obvious how the whole group is balanced in the manner of a geometrical figure, much, indeed, like the Greek Ξ. In another of the Melian groups, that of Perseus on horseback, carrying the head of Medusa, whose headless body is beneath the horse, we have a somewhat differ-

[1] *Ueber tektonischen Styl in griech. Plastik und Malerei;* Proceedings of the Bavarian Academy, 1883 and 1884.

[2] Millingen, *Anc. Unedited Monuments*, II., Pl. 3.

ent scheme, ‡; in fact, this tendency to schemes is universal. Of course in the case of a terra-cotta figure, formed in a mould, there are external and obvious reasons for close and methodical

FIG. 67. — Melian terra-cotta.

packing of the group; but the same principle prevails in vase-painting; the lines of a vase exercise on the artist the same kind of influence as the practical necessities of the mould; an inner law takes the place of external pressure.

Turning to vase-paintings, we may first note a point on which Brunn specially insists, that vase-paintings stand in a definite relation, not only to the spaces which they are to occupy, but also to the shapes of the vessels which they are to decorate. The line of gravity of the figures is also the line of gravity of the vases; the vase is as it were the frame of the picture. This is especially clear when the subject is a simple one, as on the little amphorae found at Nola and so called Nolan, though they are no doubt of Attic fabric (Fig. 68), and on lekythi (Fig. 69).

The relations to the space to be occupied are, however, more

important. We begin with a simple design adapted to an oblong space (Fig. 70). The youth here depicted is carefully balanced about a line passing from the head between the feet. If he were in profile, this could be less perfectly accom-

FIG. 68. — Nolan amphora.

FIG. 69. — Lekythos.

plished, since the front of him would, so to speak, outweigh the back. But by turning the face in one direction and the foot in another, and placing one arm in each half, more perfect balance is secured. In the same way, when winged figures are introduced, one wing is pointed forward and one backward, from a feeling that the two wings together would overbalance a figure. (See Fig. 18.) Next we may take a design adapted to a circular field (Fig. 71). It would well suit a square field, yet placed where it is, it seems ready to revolve round its centre: we feel the

motion as well as the direction of face and limbs to be specially suitable. Another skilful adaptation to a circular field may be observed on a vase of Epictetus in the British Museum[1] (Fig. 72). In vase-paintings which contain more than one figure we may trace from early times the same careful balancing. With the vase last cited one may compare another kylix, from the same pottery, where two figures are carefully interlaced (Fig. 73).[2]

FIG. 70. — From a vase, Ashmolean Museum.

Little more than heraldic is the grouping of human-headed birds and panthers on a vase of the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 74). When human figures are introduced, this mechanical balance is naturally modified by the action and purpose of the group. An example is given from a vase (Fig. 75) at Munich,[3] where we may note two points: (1) Sword and helmet form a pivot, on either side of which is a figure carefully balanced; (2) these two figures follow the lines of the neck of the vase. Not only is the whole space used, but the lines of gravity accord with the form of the vase.

In a three-figure design, the midmost of the three figures is

[1] *British Museum Catalogue of Vases*, III., Pl. VI., 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, Pl. VI., 2.
[3] Lau, Pl. XXIV., 2.

often balanced about its centre in the same way as a single figure, and the two flanking figures are turned toward it (Fig. 79). In a four-figure design the two midmost figures commonly form a group. As an example, we may cite a vase in the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 76), where in the midst is Dionysus and an attendant satyr, forming a group which is on each side flanked by a maenad turned toward it.

Fig. 71. — From a kylix.

More elaborate schemes by more skilful composers, where group balances group rather than figure figure, and where male and female forms are used in contrasted poses, may be abundantly found on vases. We have the same development in sculpture, from the rigid symmetry of the Aeginetan pediments to the thoughtful balance of those of the Parthenon.

Fig. 72. — Kylix by Epictetus.

It requires a careful observation to trace, in the elaborate designs of the more accomplished vase-

painters, the way in which a careful balance is preserved, and yet is not allowed to degenerate into uniformity and insipidity. Good examples will be found below in Figs. 86, 92, 94, etc. Alike in filling up the spaces of the back-

FIG. 73. — Kylix by Epictetus.

FIG. 74. — Vase in the Ashmolean Museum.

ground, and in furthering the rhythm of the design, great use is made of drapery. I purposely say drapery rather than dress, drapery being dress treated rather in reference to a design than in reference to the wearer. In the best Greek vases both of these considerations are taken into account.

We may next consider the relations of the paintings on a vase to one another. Vases of the larger kinds, amphorae in particular, have usually what may well be called an obverse and a reverse, two groups on the front and the back of the vase, corresponding to and balancing one another. These vases show not unfrequently some continuation or correspondence of subject in the two designs. For example, on a vase of the class

called Nolan, because commonly found at Nola, though of Attic fabric (Fig. 77), which is now in the Ashmolean Museum,[1] we see on one side the goddess Eos, the Dawn, who fell in love with Tithonus, and Tithonus on the other. On another vase of the same class[2] we see Hector on one side and Andromache, with the child Astyanax, on the other. However, more com-

FIG. 75. Vase at Munich.

FIG. 76. — Vase in Ashmolean Museum.

monly by far the main design is depicted on one side, while the other is occupied by a mere decorative figure or group without much meaning. It is clear that these vessels were exhibited in such a way that only one side of them was usually seen. In the case of the hydria, the oenochoe, and the lekythos, where one side of the vase was occupied by the handle, one side only was used for a painted scene.

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIII., p. 137. [2] *Ibid.*, IX., p. 11.

The painter of the kylix, who has two larger and one smaller space at his disposal, has a specially good opportunity of depicting successive scenes from one story, and sometimes he takes the opportunity. For example, on a kylix in the British Museum,[1] we find depicted on the outside six of the adventures of Theseus, arranged in two groups, and in the middle of

FIG. 77. — Eos and Tithonus.

the interior a seventh adventure, that with the Minotaur. Again, on the Troilus vase of Euphronius[2] we see on one side Achilles seizing Troilus, on the other the Trojans arming, while in the interior we have depicted the slaying of Troilus at the altar of Apollo. Such a planning is, however, unusual, and almost peculiar to the best class of painters. More commonly, as in the François vase, the chest of Cypselus, and other archaic

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1881, Pl. 10.

[2] Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 213; Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Pl. 225.

works, the artist seems to pluck almost at random the ripe fruit of the tree of mythology, and the subjects which balance or adjoin one another have no relation one to the other. It is often tempting, in explaining a beautiful vase, to try to trace some motive of the artist in putting together the particular scenes which he had selected, what Brunn called a poetical relation, or connection of ideas; but usually it is a lost labour, for the subjective feeling too much leads our judgment, and we know by long experience how differently the mind of an ancient artist worked from that of a modern painter. Unless, therefore, the connection between one scene of a vase and another is obvious, it is better to be somewhat sceptical in allowing it.[1]

Perspective in Greek vases is a matter which may be dealt with briefly. In the earlier classes of ware, balance takes the place of perspective. Figures are placed so as to correspond one to the other all in the same plane, or are grouped together in schemes — the wrestling scheme, Herakles and the lion, and the like. Even when greater skill became usual, towards the middle of the fifth century, the vase-painters thought, and rightly thought, that figures much foreshortened, or distorted, or arranged among themselves in any fashion at all complicated, were not suitable to the architectonic conditions of their art. Occasionally, however, we find on vases bolder poses, as in the negro's head above cited (Fig. 49). In some classes of red-figured vases, especially those of Duris the vase-painter, bold experiments are tried, like those reported of Cimon of Cleonae; but they are unusual. I figure (Fig. 78) a notable example of foreshortening from a vase from Rhodes in the British Museum. The representation is of a Nereid nymph, who flies in terror when Peleus seizes her sister Thetis, and in so doing turns her back to the spectator.

Generally speaking, as in other branches of art, so in this, it

[1] This matter is discussed by Brunn in his *Troische Miscellen*, Part III., and by Robert in *Bild und Lied*, p. 97.

FIG. 78. — Vase from Rhodes in the British Museum.

was in accordance with the artistic instinct of the Greeks willingly to abide by the limitations set them by the fixed rules of tradition. To the end of Greek history epic poets wrote in the Homeric dialect, and dramatists never transgressed the limits set by the mask and the cothurnus of Aeschylus. It is precisely this perfection by law and within limits that is the secret of Greek art.

Yet when, in the days of Polygnotus, a definite scheme of quasi-perspective was introduced into fresco-painting, some echoes of it made their way into the painting of vases. It would seem that until the age of Polygnotus painting had been but slightly differentiated from relief. Among the few remains of painting of an earlier time than about 460 B.C. which have come down to us, there is none which could not at once and without difficulty be executed as a relief. And reliefs, as is well known, largely depended for their effect on the colours with which they were covered. It was, as I have already shown, probably Polygnotus and the painters contemporary with him who began with tentative steps to move in the direction of a distinctive and innovating art of painting. The Polygnotan perspective passed from mural paintings to vases, such as that of Orvieto (Fig. 51), and that which represents the exploit of Theseus (Fig. 52), together with some other ways of art, such as telling a story by allusion. (See above, chapter XII.)

Few vase-paintings are more masterly than those of the class just mentioned. Yet the old bottles could not contain the new wine, but in time were shattered by it. Even Polygnotan perspective was scarcely to be reconciled with the strict architectonic rules under which Greek vase-painting had been formed. The relations of the scene depicted to the form of the vase, and even to the shape of the space to be occupied, were fatally interfered with. And on the other hand, the very conditions of vase-painting did not allow it to follow the rapid technical progress which took place in fresco-painting. The gap between the

greater and the lesser form of art constantly increased, the calling of the vase-painter became more and more one of routine and mere manufacture, and his designs lost all the force and manliness which had marked them in an earlier age.

In drawing, indeed, and in the expression of the faces, he shows more skill, but he no longer tells his story with clearness and force. The vases of Lower Italy show an exaggeration of the Polygnotan scheme, wherein the figures of gods and men are grouped in two or three lines about a central point or group, without serious order or method. The truth of these assertions will be enforced later on, when we come to deal with the rendering of myths.

CHAPTER XV

VASES: ARTISTIC TRADITION

Thus far we have dealt with the spatial aspects of vase-paintings; we have next to speak of their schemes and their relations to myth or tale, reserving to the next chapter their relations to Greek literature. In their attempts, then, to embody a myth in a drawing, the vase-painters were subject to certain tendencies which belonged in a special manner to their craft, and which may fairly be regarded as principles of the grammar of vase-painting.

The Greek vase-painter in all periods works in schemes. He does not freely invent a new embodiment for a tale or a myth. He is dependent on the manner in which that tale had been represented in earlier art. He must satisfy the eye as well as the mind. But, on the other hand, though he accepts and repeats a scheme embodying artistic tradition, he does not, unless he be a mere workman and no artist, accept the scheme in a slavish way. He alters poses and details, omits figures, or introduces fresh ones; sometimes he merely improves the lines of the composition. Here, as in every field of Greek activity, we find infinite variety of detail within limits cheerfully accepted by the poet or artist. An exceptional poet or artist pushes back the limits; a conventional spirit keeps far within the bounds.

The Use of Fixed Schemes. — In tracing back any representations of myths of the gods or of heroic legends, we often find the kernel of them in some simple scheme, which is usually of great antiquity, and sometimes indeed is borrowed from the

art of other nations. Commonly it is a sort of symbol, which expresses in the briefest and least involved way the essence of the tale. As examples we may take the labours of Heracles, each of which is represented in one or more schemes which persist through the history of Greek art. In his contest with the lion Heracles grapples with and strangles the beast, which attempts to tear him with its claws; thus we get a scheme like that of wrestling (Fig. 79).[1] This scheme I have already cited as an excellent example of balance and space-filling.

FIG. 79. — Vase in the British Museum.

In seizing Triton he stands across the back and knots his hands round the neck; here again we have a scheme derived from wrestling or the pancratium[2] (Fig. 80). Nereus stands by as a spectator or umpire.

These are simple groups: the victory of Heracles needed not to be enforced; he was ever invincible; and so what most needed portrayal was the contrasted and interlaced form of

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*, Vol. II., p. 13.
[2] *Ibid.*, II., p. 21.

man and beast, a conjunction which made the centaur so favourite a subject with Hellenic artists. In the case of another labour, the bringing back of the boar of Erymanthus, so simple a scheme would not suffice: the reception by Eurystheus and the comic terror which made him take refuge in a great earthen cask into which Heracles throws the boar needed special portrayal; the scheme here therefore contains

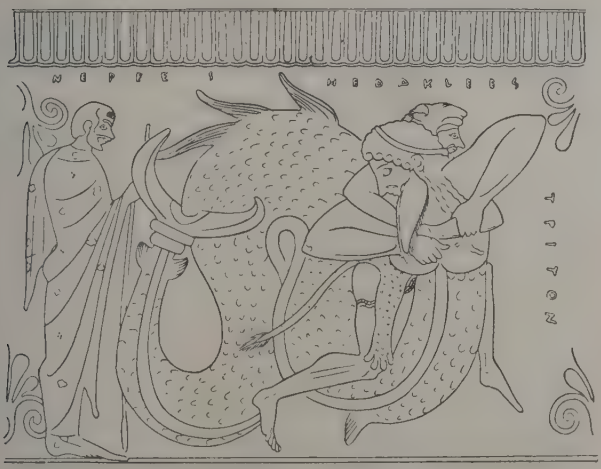

Fig. 80. — Vase in the British Museum.

at least three figures[1] (Fig. 81). In our vase there are five, Athena on one side balancing Iolaus on the other.

The exploits of Theseus also are represented in a series of schemes; but these are not identical with the Heraclean series, for Theseus was a skilful wrestler and warrior, and won his victories not by brute force but by athletic address and use of the sword. So he does not crush the Minotaur with bare

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*, Vol. II., p. 15. There is here, as often is the case when Heracles is introduced, a touch of humour.

hands, but pulls him down and then uses the sword (Fig. 82). Otto Jahn has well observed that there is a parallelism between the use of fixed schemes in painting and the use of fixed epithets in the epic. To Homer all the Achaeans have flowing locks, the Trojans are tamers of horses; the wine is always dark, all the women beautiful, and all the chiefs fair-haired. Homer does not tire of introducing speeches with the formula, "To him replying, the other spake," or, so-and-so uttered winged words, or of finishing a feast with the formula,

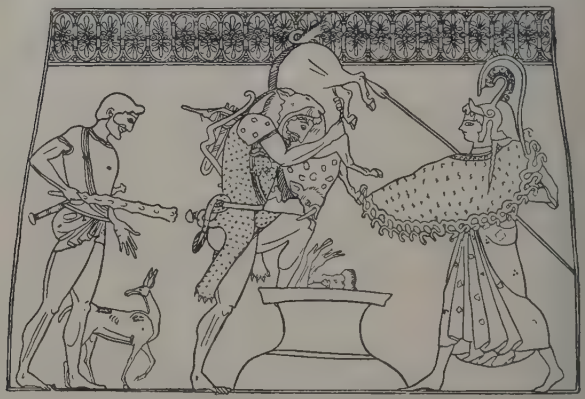

FIG. 81. — Vase in the British Museum.

"When they had put from them the desire of meat and drink." And in the Homeric similes we find the lion constantly appearing in slightly varied connections and actions, just as the riders of the Parthenon frieze or the fighting groups of the Mausoleum are slightly varied one from another.

In the more ordinary sorts of Greek vases, and even to some degree in all sorts, the scheme plays a great part. There are several regular fighting schemes. In the simplest, one warrior has fallen wounded on his knee, while the victor advances on

him to deal the final blow (Fig. 94); or two warriors meet in even strife over the body of a fallen comrade. Friends and supporters can be added on either side, as space may require. It is common to pair a Greek hoplite, armed with spear and shield, with a bowman who wears the dress of the Scythian archers of Athens, figures quite familiar to the potters. Some of the troops may be in chariots, some upon horseback; but in the common arrangement it is the hoplites who actually meet in strife. In such groups it matters little what names are

FIG. 82. — Vase in the Ashmolean Museum.

appended to the fighting heroes. Often the vase-painter writes beside them the names of Homeric worthies — Diomedes, or Ajax, or Aeneas, or Hector. But unless there is added some feature which betokens the intention to record a particular combat, these names are otiose, and might be indefinitely varied. Then, there is the scheme of the parting cup, a warrior in armour receiving a draught of wine from the hands of a lady, and such a group may stand for the parting between

any hero of myth and his wife or mother. Another scheme is that of the leading away of a captive woman (Fig. 92); in which case one warrior precedes the captive, leading her by the hand, another follows, sometimes looking back to guard against pursuit. This scheme may be introduced where the seduction of Helen by Paris, the leading away of Briseis, the recovery at Troy of Aethra by her grandsons, Demophon and Acamas, or any other such scene is portrayed.

To these simple groups the addition of two or three figures, distinguished either by inscribed names or by some other mark, gives definite meaning. For example, Pausanias in his description of the devices carved on the chest of Cypselus (seventh century B.C.) writes of one group, "Achilles and Memnon are fighting; and by them stand their mothers." The mothers, indeed, of these two heroes were both more than mortal, Thetis and Eos, the Dawn. When, therefore, we find two female figures flanking a pair of combatants, we commonly suppose that the latter are Achilles and Memnon. And when we find in the same flanking position, on either side of a pair of combatants, Apollo and Athena, we are justified in supposing that the warrior supported by Athena is Achilles, and his opponent Hector, beloved by Apollo. It will be remembered how Homer, when he narrates the final and fateful combat of these two champions, places in the background the rival partialities of their divine patrons.

The ordinary vase-painter was contented to produce simple schemes; and the names by the introduction of which he gives a meaning to his work are often introduced somewhat inappropriately. And yet, when one comes to reflect, one sees that the very introduction of names is a testimony to the incurable optimism and idealism of the Greek artist. He is like the unspoiled child to whom a four-roomed doll-house is a palace. He is like Homer, all of whose women are beautiful, and almost all of whose men are brave. He sees in the most ordi-

nary schemes of figures something not quite common, some hint at the ideal tales of the old epic.

It will be observed how closely all this agrees with the account of early Greek art already given in chapter V. The typical vase-painting is a mental construction. The artist reproduces from memory a scheme familiar to him, with any variations which may suggest themselves to him at the moment. He gives the scene a more exact meaning, either by adding inscriptions, or by inserting some more definite details or some extra persons. Place and time he usually disregards. The beauty of the design (for beauty is seldom wholly absent) comes from what is Greek in it — the simplicity and directness, the admirable proportion and balance, the keen sense of the charm of the human form in every pose and every connection. The ordinary vases which fill our museums were mostly made for export to Italy or Sicily. If made by any workmen except Greek, they would be unworthy of careful attention; but art belongs so preëminently to Greece that the meanest works produced in that country have importance. But artists of a better class also worked on vases, and when we reach their works we mount at once to a higher level, and it becomes worth while to examine them with care, that we may trace in them the further working of the Greek artistic spirit. We pass in them from the mere scheme to a composition showing purpose and thought.

How the vase-painter proceeded in embodying in art a story or myth has been well set forth by Professor Carl Robert in his very useful work *Bild und Lied*. I cannot in all points agree with him; but he has done excellent work in cutting a path through a forest which had before his time only been traversed by narrow tracks.

There are some myths which can be represented in painting by a very few figures; others which require a far larger num-

ber. It is natural that the choice of the artist between the two kinds should have been largely determined by the nature of his field: in a square field only a few figures could be introduced, in a long narrow space more would be necessary. But besides the external compulsion thus exercised, an artist of greater powers and more inventiveness would naturally take a more complicated subject.

It is characteristic of the vase-painter of the sixth century and earlier that, just as he objects to leaving any part of his vase without decoration, so he will tell in his design as much of the story as he can. In doing this he disregards the unities of time and place in the most reckless manner. He "sows not with the hand, but with the basket." Herein, indeed, he only follows the course which is most natural and usual in the early ages of art, and which is as conspicuous in the work of the sculptors of Gothic cathedrals and the illuminations of early manuscripts as it is in primitive Hellas.

We will give one or two simple examples, which may be taken indiscriminately from early vases or early bronze reliefs, since the principles of arrangement are much the same in both kinds of ware. On a black-figured plate at Athens there is represented the arming of Achilles (Fig. 83).[1] Before him stands his mother Thetis, while the group is flanked on one side by his father Peleus, on the other by his young son Neoptolemus. The painter, by carefully adding the names, has tried to prevent all possible misinterpretation. The group he has put together is not a possible one, since Achilles' fighting life was spent entirely in Asia, while Peleus never left Phthia, and Neoptolemus did not go to Ilium until after his father's death. But it expresses relations; it is a family group if not a historic one. Similarly, when Theseus slays the Minotaur on early vases,[2] some of the Athenian boys and girls sent to be the

[1] Heydemann, *Griech. Vasenbilder*, Pl. VI., 4.
[2] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 1790.

prey of the monster are sometimes present to give the occasion, and Ariadne and Minos to give the conditions. Thus again in early representations of the transformations of Thetis,

Fig. 83. — Plate at Athens.

as she seeks to escape from the grasp of her wooer Peleus, we see the lion, the sea-monster, or the serpent, whose forms she successively assumed, present beside the goddess in her ordinary human shape (Fig. 78).

It is quite natural that, with the rise of true Greek art towards the end of the sixth century, and with the introduction of additional figures into the composition, we find a clearer conception of unity in space and time, as well as a growing sense of poetic appropriateness; the meaning becomes more important than mere naïve story-telling, or than the contrivance of agreeable schemes and perfect balance. Many vase-paintings of this more purposeful kind offer delightful

puzzles in their interpretation; but interpretation must never overlook the fact that the picture had to be composed according to a somewhat rigid scheme, and is regulated by the ideas of ancient and not of modern art.

At the same time that the composition gains in meaning, and the actors become more numerous, the set schemes of which I have spoken are modified and refined. At all times in the history of Greek art, sculptor and painter succeed in nothing better than in the slight variations on a given theme, by which they manage, without once breaking with tradition, in casting it in ever fresh forms of beauty. Abundant illustrations of the statements of the last two paragraphs will be found in subsequent chapters.

It may perhaps be in part due to the influence of the drama that certain schemes of arrangement, though known to early art, become more usual and prominent in the middle of the fifth century.

One of these may be called the *chorus scheme*. It consists in introducing, on either side of the essential figures of a scene, a number of subordinate figures of one class, who sympathize

FIG. 84 *a*. — Vase of Hiero.

with the action going on, and express their sympathy by attitude and motion, but do not in fact take part in the action. They thus perform something like the function of the chorus in a drama, as the chorus was understood before the time of Euripides. For example, in the paintings which depict the seizing of Thetis by Peleus, her sister nymphs are often present in numbers, and fly in panic terror to right and left. I give an example from a beautiful vase of the middle of the fifth century, bearing the name of the potter Hiero (Fig. 84).[1] On the other side of the same vase, in which the subject is continued, we see an example of what may be termed the

Fig. 84 *b*. — Vase of Hiero.

messenger scheme. All who are acquainted with the Attic drama will remember that very often the main action of the piece does not take place on the stage, but is reported by a messenger who has witnessed it. On vases the telling by the messenger does not occur in a detached way, for the obvious reason that in that case it would be impossible to determine what tale he was telling. But when some action is depicted on the front or obverse of a vase, we often find on the reverse

[1] *Wiener Vorlegebl.*, A. 1.

an adaptation of the messenger idea. On the reverse of the vase before us, one of the sisters of Thetis is rushing to her father Nereus and is kissing him as a preparation for the not very disastrous tale she has to tell.

As I have said, these schemes are not peculiar to the fifth century. Nereids appear as a sort of a chorus, even on black-figured vases; and on the celebrated Florence vase (François Vase) of Clitias and Ergotimus there is an instance of the messenger scheme, for while Achilles is pursuing Troilus, Antenor bring news of the ambush to Priam, who is seated at the gate of Troy. But they are comparatively rare on sixth-century vases: towards the middle of the fifth century they become common. The messenger scheme is specially appropriate on the reverse of a vase the obverse of which gives us the event or action of which news has to be brought.

At about the middle of the fifth century the possibilities of vase-representation are greatly enlarged by the introduction of the modified perspective of which I have spoken as Polygnotan. Henceforward, though small and ordinary vases retain to the end the single-plane scheme which is usual in relief, larger and more elaborate designs sometimes offer to us two or more than two series of figures, the further figures appearing higher up on the vase. It is at once evident that the new arrangement would allow a much more complicated treatment; the simple archaic schemes, flanked by a certain number of interested spectators, could open and widen out indefinitely, subject to the laws of space-filling and of balance enumerated above. As a result we have at once, as has been already shown, some of the finest and most interesting of vase-paintings. But towards 400 B.C. Athens ceases to be the great manufactory of vases, and the art is transferred to the potteries of Tarentum and Rubi and other cities of Lower Italy. The result is that the vase-paintings, though elaborate, lose their freshness and point. The field is filled up with figures of the circles of Aphrodite

and Dionysus. The variations, so to speak, entirely overwhelm the original theme, and the vase produces an impression of degeneration and corruption.

I will make the progress of a scene through the history of vase-painting clearer by taking, as an example, the sending forth from Eleusis of Triptolemus by the goddess Demeter and her daughter Persephone, in a car drawn by winged serpents, on his mission to introduce among men the cultivation of corn, with all its civilizing results. My illustrations are taken from the great *Kunstmythologie* of Overbeck, Pls. XV.–XVI.

The central figure in this series of representations is Triptolemus himself in his car, carrying wheat ears. It is curious that in the earliest representations the car is not represented as winged, nor as drawn by serpents; and the presence of Demeter and Persephone is by no means invariable. We give the design

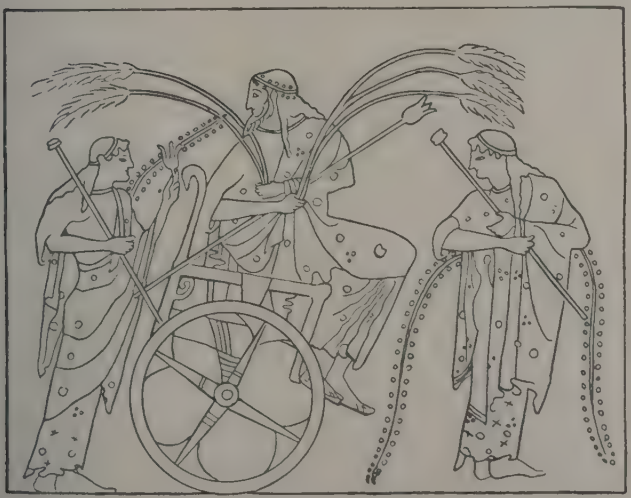

Fig. 85. — Black-figured vase in Vatican.

of a black-figured amphora, wherein the three figures of Triptolemus and his patronesses, who are scarcely differentiated from one another, are given in the simplest way (Fig. 85).[1] Next we place a very beautiful drawing from a vase of the potter Hiero in the British Museum. Here details are far more elaborate: snakes do not indeed draw the car, but they are attached to it, and a wing is fixed on the axle; Demeter stands behind her favourite in a beautiful dress, holding a torch;

FIG. 86.—Vase of Hiero.

Persephone also carries a torch and pours for her protégé a parting draught of wine. Only one fresh figure is added to the group, the nymph Eleusis, who personifies the locality of the scene (Fig. 86).[2] The vase of Hiero dates from the time of the Persian wars, and offers us, as his vases commonly do, rather elaborate perfection of detail than any novelty in the conception. The reverse of the vase shows us a group of deities,—Poseidon, Amphitrite, Zeus, and Dionysus, and Eumolpus, the fabled founder of the Eleusinian mysteries. The next vase is perhaps twenty years later, of the form called a hydria (Fig. 87).[3] Here the figures of the group are more numerous, but

[1] Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, XV., 6. [2] *Ibid.*, 22 *a*. [3] *Ibid.*, 31.

their connection with the scene is less clear. We have in the midst as before Triptolemus between the two goddesses. The figure with the torches behind Demeter is given in the inscription as Hecate, and we may suppose the balancing figure on the other side, who also carries two torches, to be Artemis,

FIG. 87. — Hydria.

though indeed she may perhaps be a mortal woman. The two flanking figures on either side are less easy to identify. He on the left, who holds the cornucopiae, has been called Hades; and Hades has some right to be present at the scene; but he would scarcely appear as an old white-headed man, seeing how forceful was his wooing of Persephone. Stephani has therefore suggested for him the name Agathos Daimon, a deity propitious to agriculture. The female figure at the other end of the group who carries a basket seems to be a mere attendant.

The vase-picture next figured belongs to the fourth century, comes from Italy, and was probably painted by a Tarentine.[1] Freer, and more original in composition than earlier vases, liberated from the stiff processional scheme, it shows poverty in thought and meaning as well as convention in execution Fig. 88.[2] By an ingenious arrangement the serpents are made actually to draw the car, in which sits Triptolemus, receiving the parting cup from his mistress Demeter. Persephone, strangely enough, is entirely absent. Other figures are grouped

[1] The aspirate h in the name of the Horae seems to point to Tarentum.
[2] *Ibid.*, XVI., 13.

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round — Aphrodite and her son Eros, Peitho, a satyr with a Pan's pipe, two Horae, each bearing sympathetically an ear of corn. There is an attempt to represent the landscape — a river bordered with plants flows in the foreground; among the plants is a cat carrying off a bird. In the background are trees. The cat naturally suggests that the whole scene has been removed from Eleusis to Egypt, and the inscription ΝΕΙΛΟΣ appended to the river makes this more clear. The

FIG. 88. — Vase of Tarentum.

vase, while it cannot be considered a satisfactory embodiment of the myth, shows an odd assortment of learning. The painter knew the story according to which the mysteries of Eleusis came originally from the land of the Nile; but he sees no incongruity in placing the Greek Peitho and the Attic Horae, Thallo and Carpo, in Egypt. In other late vase-representations of the same subject there are even more curious confusions and transpositions.

I will next speak of certain methods or habits of the Greek vase-painter which may be abundantly observed in the vases

of all periods — certain dialectic peculiarities, if I may so term them, on the analogy of language.

One of the commonest phenomena of vase-painting is what is called *contamination*, the influence exerted by one recognized scheme upon another, the transference of persons or circumstances from surroundings in which they have a meaning to a connection in which they are out of place. That this should commonly take place is the surest of proofs that the painters of vases thought in schemes and figures as well as in event or myth. Contamination, as is natural, is far more prominent in vases which are mere handiwork than in such as have real meaning, and were executed with thought. Also in schemes made up of closely similar elements, for example, Hermes leading three nymphs and Hermes leading the goddesses to the judgment of Paris, it is very natural that these two should be, as often happens, somewhat mixed up.[1] But contamination occurs under a variety of other circumstances. Though it may be most readily traced in vase-paintings, it is also prevalent in other parts of the Greek fancy world. Myths also are constantly contaminated, one borrowing event and circumstance from another. Religious usages are also very liable to contamination. It will be well to give a few examples of vase contamination.

I have already observed that when two heroes are represented as contending in arms, and the two mothers standing on either side behind them, we usually regard the scene as the battle between Achilles and Memnon, in the presence of their mothers, Thetis and Eos. On a fine vase, probably painted by Euphronius (Fig. 89),[2] we find a beautiful scene, where the body of a dead hero is carried to its burial by two winged figures, a black-haired daemon, who is doubtless Death, and a red-haired com-

[1] The judgment of Paris is reserved for more detailed treatment in chapter XVIII.

[2] Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 272.

panion, who is Sleep. One thinks at once of the Homeric lines in which it is stated that Sleep and Death bore off the dead body of Sarpedon to his native Lycia; and it is probable that the vase-painter was thinking of Sarpedon when he worked. But the space was not filled, though the group was complete;

FIG. 89. — Vase of Euphronius.

and he adds on each side a female figure, thinking probably of some painting in which Thetis and Eos stood by their two sons. One of these women is turned by the herald's staff which she carries into Iris, the messenger of the gods, who can scarcely be out of place. But the other figure is obscure. Sarpedon had not a noted mother.

Another good example of contamination is cited by Professor Robert, from a black-figured vase[1] where is depicted a warrior hurling from him a boy whom he has seized by the leg. It should be Neoptolemus flinging Astyanax from the towers of Ilium; but the presence of a temple, a tripod, and a chariot make it likely that the event in the vase-painter's mind was the slaying of Troilus by Achilles at the altar of Apollo. It is hard to be sure which death is really intended; but in either case circumstances usual in the rendering of the one event are transferred to the other.

[1] *Mon. d. Inst.*, I., 34; *Bild und Lied*, p. 112.

Another example may be found in a kylix on which is represented Oedipus seated before a sphinx, who is perched on the top of a pillar. That it was the tale of Oedipus which was in

Fig. 90. — Kylix.

the mind of the vase-painter is proved by the inscriptions (Fig. 90).[1] But, apart from them, we might almost have seen in the picture an ordinary gravestone surmounted by the figure of a sphinx, with a relative of the dead seated near. The sphinx,

[1] Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. 73. On the vase is the curious form Οἰδιπόδης: the letters K]AITRI[ΠON allude to the riddle which the sphinx asked of Oedipus, "What creature goes on four legs in the morning, on two during the day, and on three at evening?" The answer was, man, the third leg of evening being the staff of old age.

an adornment of the tomb, must have been familiar to the vase-painter. This illustrates the fact that the contamination in vase-painting is not usually between two myths, but between two figure schemes which mingled in the mind of the artist. He was not hesitating which of two tales to portray, but, thinking in concrete figures, thought indistinctly.

Locality. — I have already, in speaking of the works of Polygnotus, shown how fond the great art of Greece is of telling a story or defining a personality by means of allusion. In certain classes of vase-paintings the custom is common, as has indeed already been shown.

It would not be easy to find better instances of this way of expression than are furnished by indications of locality in vase-paintings. These are of two kinds. Sometimes one marked feature of a place is depicted in order to signify the whole, sometimes the place is represented by a personification.

(1) *A marked feature.* — Thus a pillar often stands for a temple or a palace, a tripod or altar represents a sacred place, a crab or a shell-fish the sea-shore. A single tree, as on the Orvieto vase (Fig. 51), stands sometimes for a forest. Here we have a Polygnotan parallel: in the painting at Delphi which represented Hades, a single willow seems to have stood for the grove of poplars and willows which Homer ascribes to Persephone. A closet in the background sometimes shows that the scene is the apartments of the women; tablets or drawing materials hung up against the wall show a school, and so forth. For examples, see Figs. 92, 93.

(2) *A personification.* — This is the most thoroughly Hellenic way of representing a place. It was entirely in accord with the genius of the nation to embody not merely the great powers of nature and the aspects of life in mythologic personalities, but also thus to signify the features of a landscape. A vase has been above (Fig. 86) represented, wherein Eleusis the place is

represented by Eleusis the nymph. In similar fashion the rivers Alpheius and Cladeus appear in one of the pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia as reclining men (Fig. 24). And in Roman and Pompeian paintings, at a later time, stream and rock, mountain and meadow, are all represented by groups of male and female daemons and nymphs.

In a similar way, in some of the compositions of Pheidias, the rising sun and the setting moon, embodied in the chariots of Helios and Selene or Nyx, give the time, the moment when dawn breaks on the earth and darkness flies. One finds this scheme copied on a few vases.[1] Sunrise could not be more delightfully represented by human figures than it is in the Blacas vase of the British Museum, on which Helios appears rising out of the sea, and the stars, represented as nude boys, are plunging into the clouds beneath them, while Eos, the Dawn, as a winged goddess, pursues the hunter Cephalus, and the moon goddess on her horse sinks behind the hills (Fig. 91).[2] The figure running on the hills behind Eos is probably a mountain god, and signifies place, as the other figures signify time.

There is a method of representing a tale which belongs to all early and primitive art, and which is occasionally found in Greek vase-paintings, though, in fact, it is anything but characteristic of them — the method of *continuous narration*.[3]

[1] *E.g.*, the vase from Ruvo, *Mon. d. Inst.*, IX., 6.

[2] Figured in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I., p. 2010, Baumeister, I., p. 640, and elsewhere. *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, III., p. 284. None of the representations is trustworthy, as the vase was retouched. It has now been cleaned.

[3] Professor Wickhoff, in a work which has been translated into English, on *Roman Art*, represents this method as characteristic of Roman art, adopted from it by early Christian art, and so perpetuated through the Middle Ages. It does, no doubt, belong in a marked degree to early Christian art, but it is there a revival of a primitive manner, which the empire of Greek art had almost civilized off the face of the earth. Few better examples of the method could be found than the sixth-century Phoenician cup from Palestrina (*Mon. d. Inst.*, X., 31), the subject of which has been cleverly shown, by M. Clermont Ganneau, to be the successive events of a day's hunting.

FIG. 91.—Blacas vase: sunrise.

In the representations in which this method, or want of method, prevails, we find successive scenes placed side by side without division, and the hero depicted again and again once in each. Thus in the undivided scroll which runs round the pillar of Trajan, that Emperor is represented more than ninety times in various connections and surroundings.

It is a mark of the strong sense of style which pervades Greek art from the first that this method is soon superseded. A few vases may be found which exemplify it; but to lay stress upon them would be to call attention to the exception at the expense of the rule. A good example of the nearest approach to the style of continuous narration which is to be found in Greek art is the British Museum vase which represents the adventures of Theseus,[1] on which Theseus is depicted again and again, occupied in his varied exploits. Another vase which perhaps goes a little further in this direction is a beautiful toilet-vase from Eretria, in the design of which a bride is twice depicted, on the left as seated in company with Eros, and on the right as led by her husband to her new abode.[2] We have also on a vase (Fig. 96), cited below, which represents the slaying of the Thracians at Troy by Odysseus and Diomedes, two figures of the latter hero, one slaying and one escaping. And Odysseus appears twice over on the vase Fig. 97.

The mention of the toilet-vase reminds us that we have treated almost exclusively of vases the subject of which is mythologic. There is, however, a large class of vases, especially of the red-figured styles, of which the subjects are not taken from the national repertory of tales, but from the events of daily life. Athletes practising their exercises, bathers, men engaged in sacrifice or in feasting, women in their homes, children at play, marriages, funerals, offerings to the dead, are all ordinary subjects of vase-painting. Very often, indeed, it

[1] *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, Atlas, Pl. X. [2] *Jahrbuch des arch. Inst.*, 1900, Pl. 2.

is impossible to say whether a vase-painting was meant to represent the battles, the sacrifices, or the feasts of heroes of mythology or of persons of everyday life. This last observation may perhaps reassure us, since it shows that the principles of vase-painting are the same whether mythical scenes or scenes of every day be depicted. Of course in the latter case there is more freedom, not unfrequently even humour; but the Greek love of scheme and type prevails even in the representation of *genre* scenes.

CHAPTER XVI

LITERATURE AND PAINTING: THE EPIC

THE relations of poetry to art offer a subject of great interest to the student of the classics. The subject was brought fully before the learned world by Lessing in his *Laocoön*. The *Laocoön* has become a classic both in Germany and in England; and it still keeps the interest which always attaches to the first thorough study of an important subject by a great man. But Lessing's knowledge of Greek art was closely limited. The history of ancient sculpture had in his time barely been sketched, and Greek painting was practically unknown. One cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that many of his dicta no longer hold. His theories have the same relation to modern archaeology which the theories of Adam Smith have to modern economics.

Our present subject is especially the relations which may be observed between vase-painting and literature. This is a matter concerning all whose education is on classical lines.[1]

We must begin by endeavouring to put out of our minds the modern relations between poem or tale and the representations

[1] The most important general work on this subject is still Robert's *Bild und Lied;* some of the papers of Jahn and Brunn are full of suggestion. Mr. Huddilston's *Attitude of the Greek Tragedians towards Art* may also be consulted. In late years it has occurred to several publishers to issue editions of the Greek and Roman writers with illustrations, largely taken from ancient vase-paintings. I am sorry to say that this has seldom been done by adequate authorities or in a satisfactory fashion. Hill's *Illustrations of School Classics* is a good exception. Engelmann's *Bilderatlas zur Ilias* and *zur Odyssee* (English edition by Anderson) is also a work of a competent authority. Most of the vases which bear on literature are figured in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*.

of the events there narrated in painting and sculpture. We moderns are a reading race, and form our minds on books; whence it has come about that the written tale or legend has complete domination over the pictured tale or legend. We are also thoroughly used to illustrated editions, in which the artist does all he can to make real and vivid the tale of the novelist or poet. This artist reads the text with care; he tries to imbibe its atmosphere; he studies the dress and surroundings of the period of the tale. He puts his art at the disposal of the writer; and if there be any discrepancy between the pictured and the written version, it is always the artist who is blamed. If the poet alter for his own purposes the tale as handed down by tradition, the artist must follow the poet in all his innovations. When the reader can say that the situation in the poem is perfectly rendered in the picture, the artist is so far justified. And having acquired this habit of mind from the use of illustrated books, we carry it even into our criticisms of more independent works of painting, when exhibited in our galleries. In that case, of course, the artist is much freer in his rendering; he is not bound to follow any one account, unless, of course, the whole tale be the invention of a poet. But it would always be regarded as a bold and doubtful proceeding, if an artist depicted a scene from some history or tale in a manner for which there was no written authority; he might be regarded as trying to combine the incompatible duties of the historian and the artist. I am speaking, it will be observed, of what may be called *narrative* paintings; of course when a painting merely depicts a situation and explains itself, the case is different.

In these matters the Greeks thought and felt very differently. It would be absurd to speak of the Greek artist as freer than the modern, since his limits were narrower, and he was bound by a thousand conventions which have now lost their power. But at least his public was not in the habit of reading, or of

bringing his sculpture or painting into close relations with the works of poet or mythographer.

Before we search out how the vase-painter *did* treat the myths and tales wherewith he adorned his vases, it may be well briefly to consider the psychological aspect of the matter, to set forth the conditions which would naturally govern his hand and brain in his work. Vases were made to sell, and therefore the demand of the customers would naturally guide the hand of the designer. But on the other hand, the demand was not the result of an incalculable caprice, nor of a constantly changing fashion: the Greek mind moved slowly on the lines of order and law, in an evolution of which the course can be traced with certainty. Artist and customer were swept along in the same steady stream of influence.

This accounts for an observation made by Dr. Klein[1] and others that the paintings on Greek vases, especially the fashionable kylix, more readily take their subjects, than the mode in which those subjects are treated, from prevalent currents in mythology. The mode of treatment was largely fixed by tradition; but the subject was open to freer choice, and in this latter respect demand might have effect. For example, the exploits of Theseus seem to have been a favourite subject at Athens soon after the Persian wars, at the time when Cimon was bringing to Athens the bones of the national hero from the island of Scyros; but those exploits are much schematized in the manner which we have already studied.

Looking at Greek religion and myth from one point of view, it seems to resolve itself into "Cults of the Greek States." In every city there were temples of the gods, in which each of the deities who received worship received it in some special form or aspect — Apollo as sun-god, or healer, or prophet, Artemis as deity of childbirth, or as moon-goddess, or as huntress, and so

[1] *Euphronios*, p. 163.

on. And with these functions of the deities went myths appropriate to those functions, myths as fleeting and varied as the shapes of the clouds. But nevertheless in the higher poetry of Greece, and in the art everywhere, there was prevalent a sort of national Hellenic mythology, which gives unity to the works of writers and artists of different cities and varied schools, and which produced national Hellenic types in sculpture and in poetry, so that after all it is possible to speak of Greek religion and Greek art, and not only of the religion or art of Argos, or Athens, or Rhodes. To the learned scholar the local divergencies will always be prominent, but by the ordinary cultivated man that wherein Greece differed from Italy and from Asia will always be seen to be more important and more profound than that wherein one Greek city differed from another. Probably a cultivated Greek might have taken the same view. And whatever may have been the case with other cities, Athens certainly closely adhered to the Pan-Hellenic way of thought and poetry and art.

"Every Greek who was born above the ranks of the sordidly poor went to school during boyhood; and at every Greek school the Homeric and Hesiodic poems were made the text-books of education. With them were associated the poems of the later lyrical poets, such as Pindar and Simonides, and of the gnomic writers; but Homer and Hesiod always remained the chief source whence came the Greek ideas as to the hierarchy and the functions of the gods. And the training thus imparted in youth was confirmed and consolidated, day by day, by the power of the second education which every Greek went through, education of the mind through the eyes, by observation of the innumerable works of art which filled all Hellenic cities. In art the poetic view of the gods, started by Homer and Hesiod, and carried on by Pindar and Simonides and the other great poets of early Greece, was in the main adopted and carried out. What wonder, then, if the Greeks held fast those

notions as to the gods which were instilled into their minds in childhood, and which were enforced every day by the testimony of poetry and art?" [1]

While, however, Homer and the Epic, together with the classic art mainly founded on them, fixed for all time the chief features of the poetic mythology of Greece, changes necessarily took place, changes which certainly became more rapid and more marked as the Greek world turned its course and moved in the direction of dissolution. The rationalizing spirit, which we find not only in the writings of philosophers like Plato, but also in the poems of Stesichorus, and in a marked degree in the dramas of Euripides, tended to make certain versions of current myths more suitable for popular acceptance than other versions. We may expect to find, in the fourth and even sometimes in the fifth century, traces in art of the influence of changing scientific theories, changing religious views, changing canons of literary taste; but these traces are not prominent until the third century, with which in this work we have little to do.

I have spoken of mythology and of the types of the gods; but no rigid line can be drawn between the gods and the heroes of legendary Greece, who were another principal subject depicted in Greek art. There was no impassable gulf between deity and hero. Callisto, the bear-goddess of Arcadia, became later one of the nymphs attendant on Artemis; Asklepios, on the other hand, after being regarded as a hero, became in later Greece one of the chief deities of Hellas; Achilles was in some places worshipped as a hero, in some as a deity, and so forth. Thus it is not surprising that what I have said in regard to the mythology of the gods applies also to the legends of the heroes. These also varied from place to place, and existed in rival forms. But these, also, were fixed within limits for all educated men by the great epics of the heroic cycle.

[1] Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 102.

These observations prepare us for the discussion of the question how far we can trace in vase-paintings the influence of the various kinds of poetry, of the epic, the lyric, and the dramatic masterpieces of early Greece. This influence might be exerted in any of three ways. First, the choice of *subject* might be made under the influence of poetry. Second, the particular *form* of the tale accepted might be due to such influence. Third, there might be a general epic, lyric, or dramatic *tone* in the vase-painting, showing itself in the details or the manner of representation.

I propose to consider how far any of these kinds of connection or influence can be traced between vase-paintings and the poems of the epic, lyric, or dramatic class. In the present chapter I will confine myself to the epic, and reserve the other kinds of poetry for a separate chapter. First, then, of *Epic Poetry*.

(1) *Subjects.* — We can scarcely doubt that influence of the first kind mentioned would be exerted by the Epic. The popularity of any myth, whether produced by current poetical treatment of it or by any other cause, would naturally put it into the heads of vase-painters. As regards subject, the literature which has the closest bearing on vase-paintings is the Epic.[1] The subjects portrayed in them are very frequently taken from the epic cycle. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, however, comparatively seldom furnish their subjects, which are more commonly taken from the works of the lesser poems of the cycle, the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus, the *Cypria*, the *Aethiopis*, and the rest. At first sight this may seem a strange fact, since the works of Lesches Stasinus and Arctinus were not in schools made so much of as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The reason is that certain stock subjects from the outer epic, such subjects as the choice of Paris and the wooing of Thetis, seem to have

[1] Lists of vases bearing subjects from the Epic will be found in Luckenbach, *Das Verhältniss der griechischen Vasenbilder zu den Gedichten des epischen Kyklos*.

made their way into art very early, and are repeated almost too often by the potters.

(2) *Variation of Story.* — It has been observed that when we find a vase which has really cost its painter some thought, and does not run in the lines of ordinary tradition, then its subject is often from the great Homeric poems. So it would seem that when a vase-painter consciously invented, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* would often occur to him. These vases, it is true, often sit very loose to the Homeric text; it is only in a small minority of cases that the correspondence is close. Some modern archaeologists have exercised great pains and shown great erudition in the discussion whether the divergences from Homer are due to a variant text or to a later epic authority. Questions of this kind will come before us presently (chapter XVII). But I may say at once that in the great majority of cases, or in nearly all, we can account for the variation from the usual literary tradition in a simpler fashion, and one doing more justice to Hellenic ways. We must ever be on our guard against supposing that the Greeks were a reading people, or were dependent, as we are dependent, upon the works of poets and historians. Artistic tradition with the vase-painters counted for more than literary tradition. How this artistic tradition worked we have already seen.

(3) *Special Treatment.* — Professor Robert, carrying out a suggestion of Jahn, has affirmed[1] that we may see on the vases, especially those of the archaic period, a tone or manner of treatment which may fairly be called epic. "In all these products of archaic workmen we may see a bright and simple-hearted delight in portraying and in what is portrayed, a delight that what before had only passed in song from mouth to mouth should stand bodily before our eyes in a representation." "The tone which prevails in this archaic period is the same that predominates in the Epic, the tone of narration full of

[1] *Bild und Lied*, p. 13.

ease. It relates and gossips like old Nestor in Homer, and can never weary of relation and gossip, flowing over into detail. This period of art indeed wants to tell the whole story and does not heed that it cannot, like poetry, treat of the whole history of the matter, but only of a phase." Instances already given (such as Fig. 83) quite bear out the observations of Robert.

These views will become clearer if we take a few characteristic vases of good period, the subject of which is clearly Ho-

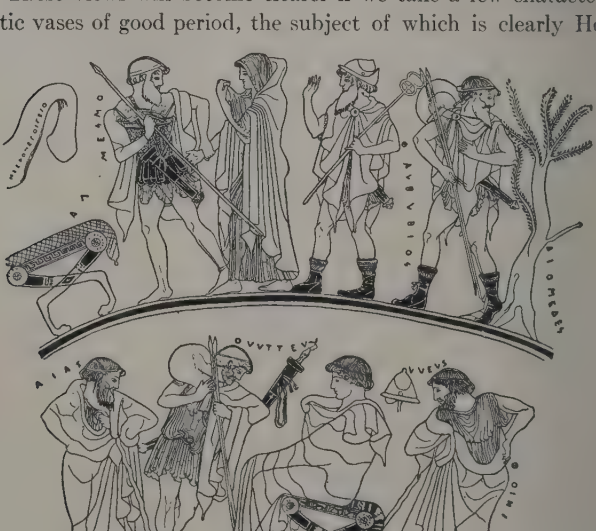

FIG. 92. — Kotyle of Hiero.

meric. On a kotyle of Hiero (about 480 B.C.) we have two scenes from the *Iliad* which have a close connection one with the other — the leading away of Briseis from the tent of Achilles to that of Agamemnon, and the embassy of Odysseus and

Ajax to implore the aid of Achilles, when the Trojans had fought their way to the ships (Fig. 92).[1]

We must first glance at these vase-pictures from the point of view of space and balance. The two scenes, each of four figures, occurring on the two sides of the vase, balance one another, and conform admirably to the form of the vase. In each we have complete balance about the middle, and correspondence of figure to figure. As an example of careful adaptation to space, we may take the way in which the figure of Odysseus, as he bends forward in his oratory, together with the sword hung on the wall, fits the form of the seated Achilles, and the fashion in which the seat in front of Agamemnon fills the space under the handle.

Taking next the scenes one by one, we may analyze them and compare them with the Homeric text. The embassy to Achilles is closely parallel to the *Iliad*. In Book IX. it is narrated how Agamemnon, repenting that he had vexed Achilles by carrying away Briseis, sent an embassy to make reparation, consisting of Odysseus, Ajax, and the aged Phoenix. When they reach the tent of Achilles, they find him singing to the lyre in the company of Patroclus. He receives them graciously, and Odysseus tries to persuade him to resume his place in the battle, but without success. The lyre-playing Achilles is not rare in ancient art; but on our vase Achilles sits sulking and wrapped in his mantle. In all other points the vase-painting is in a broad sense Homeric. The heroes are carefully differentiated. Achilles is of gigantic stature, his head when seated being almost on a level with those of the others when standing: this size refers rather to heroic rank than to mere physical stature. He is still young; in all ways he presents a marked contrast to Odysseus, whose close clustering hair and beard are those of the typical strong man. The hat at the back of the head of Odysseus and his boots indicate the world-

[1] *Mon. d. Inst.* VI., 19.

wide traveller, though here we have allusion rather to the future destiny than to the past history of the hero. Phoenix, as an old man with thin hair, stands wrapped in his cloak and leaning on a staff. Ajax is far less successfully characterized: he seems drawn by the analogy of Phoenix, whom he balances, into an elderly man; but hair and beard are of heroic fulness.

The other picture is according to the spirit and not according to the letter. Agamemnon (*Il.* I.) sent to fetch Briseis his two heralds Talthybius and Eurybates. Achilles yielded her without resistance, and they brought her unwilling to the tent of their master. Four figures were needed for the composition, and most indispensable among these would be the figure of Briseis herself. According to the ordinary scheme a lady led into captivity is accompanied by two men, one to lead her, the other to look back and repel pursuit. It might seem most natural to complete the scene with the two heralds, and Agamemnon waiting to receive the captive. But the vase-painter prefers to represent Agamemnon himself as leading Briseis, while Talthybius follows and Diomedes, armed, guards the rear. Diomedes seems out of place; but that hero was in the *Iliad* specially prominent in the whole affair of Briseis,[1] and merely to insert the second herald would weaken the picture. From the vase-painter's point of view the leading warrior and the following warrior are essential; it is the figure of Talthybius which is unusual, and inserted in deference to the Homeric story.

We see clearly how far more highly the painter valued the idea than the fact. Had he represented the lady and the two heralds in attendance he would have missed essential features of the story, that Agamemnon was the author of the whole affair, and that Diomedes took a prominent part in it. A modern painter would have laid more stress on Briseis herself

[1] Professor Robert, in his *Bild und Lied*, p. 96, suggests that Diomedes really belongs to the embassy on the other side, and is transferred.

but she was only a captive, a pawn in the heroic game played by the kings. Briseis in the *Iliad* is not at all prominent, and the modern reader, whose ancestors have passed through the age of chivalry, reads with a strange feeling the words of Achilles, "With my hands never will I strive with thee or any other for the sake of the girl."

The scene of the event is indicated in that simple fashion which may be called the method of abbreviation. The tree on the right marks the plain of Troy whence the group come; the seat on the left the tent of Agamemnon, in which a more solid chair would be out of place. In the same way in the opposite scene, sword and helmet hung up, and richly ornamented camp-stool, epitomize the tent of Achilles, and signify his determination to cease from warring. Is it possible to imagine a simpler and more pleasing symbolism?

We may compare with this rendering of the scene by Hiero another, in the British Museum (Fig. 93),[1] which is less dominated by artistic tradition, and perhaps equally charming in its way, though inferior in technique. Here the fetching of Briseis is divided into two scenes, each containing six figures. In both, with small variations, recurs the same group of the two heralds, of whom one precedes and leads while the other follows Briseis. The artist has tried to bring out as clearly as possible the contrast between the starting-place and the goal of the journey. On one side of the vase the sulking Achilles sits wrapped in his cloak between two of his Myrmidons, who appear to console him as best they can. Their civic dress shows how for the time they have laid aside the notion of fighting. Achilles is seated in his tent, and his arms are hung up within it. On the other side, we have a far more stately building, represented by the two pillars which flank the entrance of the palace of Agamemnon, and between which the cortège passes. Three bearded Greek citizens stand outside the house.

[1] Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. 41.

Certainly to a modern mind the scene would have been more effectively rendered if Agamemnon had stood within his palace, and the cortège been represented as approaching it from the left. Why this line was not taken it is hard to say. We

FIG. 93.—Vase in British Museum.

must not expect in our vase-painter too much originality or logical thoroughness. Professor Robert has pointed out that in his representation of the tent of Achilles, the artis has admitted the influence of which I have already spoken a contamination. The wrapped-up figure of the seated Achille and the Myrmidon standing before him, leaning on a staff

[1] *Bild und Lied*, p. 96.

might well be close copies of a group consisting of Odysseus addressing the sulking Achilles, as we have it on the vase last cited. And the other Myrmidon reminds us of the Phoenix on the same vase.

Among vases distinctly intended to portray a Homeric combat, a high place is taken by the kylix from Rhodes, which I first published in the *Journal of Philology*[1] (Fig. 94). The vase is of the early part of the fifth century, in the severe red-figured style. One of the scenes depicted on it is the combat of Diomedes and Aeneas in the fifth book of the *Iliad*. I may briefly recapitulate the details of the combat. Pandarus and Aeneas had driven in a chariot against Diomedes, who was

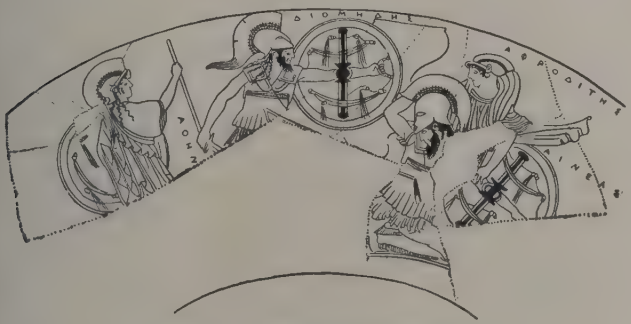

FIG. 94.—Vase in British Museum.

fighting that day under the special protection of Athena. Diomedes first strikes Pandarus with his spear, and brings him to the ground; Aeneas springs forward to protect his fallen comrade; Diomedes hurls at him a mighty rock, which strikes him on the hip. Aeneas, however, is saved from death by the intervention of his mother, Aphrodite, who bears him away from the fray.

As the names Aeneas, Diomedes, Athena, Aphrodite, are all

[1] XII., p. 215.

given, there can be no question but that the vase-painter was thinking of the passage in the *Iliad;* and since we have no other representation of this scene, it is unlikely that he had any model to go by. It is the more interesting to watch his procedure. The central group is of an ordinary type: a Greek hoplite advances against a foe, who is beaten to his knees. His victory is indicated not only by the attitudes, but also by the fact that a spear is sticking in the body of Aeneas below the belt, while another spear is broken against the corselet of Diomedes. But in the Homeric text there is nothing about an exchange of spears; a rock is spoken of as the only weapon. Between the warriors one sees what looks like the outline of a rock behind. Can this be a gentle allusion to the missile? Aphrodite is in the act of lifting her son by both arms; Athena stands armed behind her protégé, Diomedes. This is a good example of the looseness to fact and the truth to idea of Greek artists. The defeat of Aeneas, his rescue by his mother, the divine support of Diomedes, are all clearly portrayed; but the details of the contest are given without any pretence to accuracy. An ordinary scheme is so far modified as to have a clear Homeric reference, that is all.

We have on late vases of Apulia illustrations of one of the most stirring events in the *Iliad*, the carrying off of the horses of the Thracian king Rhesus by Odysseus and Diomedes (*Il.* X.) and the slaying of some of the soldiers. The first vase-painting is from a cup at Berlin [1] (Fig. 95); it gives us but few figures, and tells the story in the simplest way. The artist represents a wooded scene; a tree and a few stones are sufficient to mark the character of the landscape. In the background, amid their arms which lie around, three Thracians are lying in constrained attitudes. Thracians, that is, they are meant to be, but their dress and equipment are not that proper to Thracians, which we find on Attic vases which represent the

[1] Gerhard, *Coupes de Berlin*, Pl. K.

death of Orpheus at the hands of Thracian women,[1] but the dress which Greek artists give to the peoples of Asia Minor, Phrygians, Persians, and Scythians. In the foreground Odysseus, wearing sailor's cap and chlamys, with drawn sword in his hand, leads away the horses of Rhesus, and Diomedes, also

FIG. 95. — Vase at Berlin.

with drawn sword, walks beside him. It will be remembered that in Homer the two heroes divide the task before them; Diomedes is to slay the sleeping Thracians while Odysseus carries off the noble horses of Rhesus; each thus acts according to his nature.

But in order that we may fully understand this picture, we must compare with it a fuller version of the same scene, which is to be found on another vase of the same period[2] (Fig. 96). In this the group of Odysseus with the horses and Diomedes

[1] See Roscher's *Lexikon*, III., p. 1180 and foll.
[2] *Wiener Vorlegebl.*, C. 3, 2.

is very similar, and Thracians again occupy the background; but there are additions which make the interpretation clearer. The nature of the ground, evidently a clearing in a forest, is more clearly marked. Of the Thracians, one is standing up, one has his head severed. A second figure of Diomedes appears, who rushes on the reclining figures, bent on slaughter. All these points have importance. The headless Thracian suggests that the constrained attitudes of the rest are meant to show that they have been slain, and are not merely asleep.

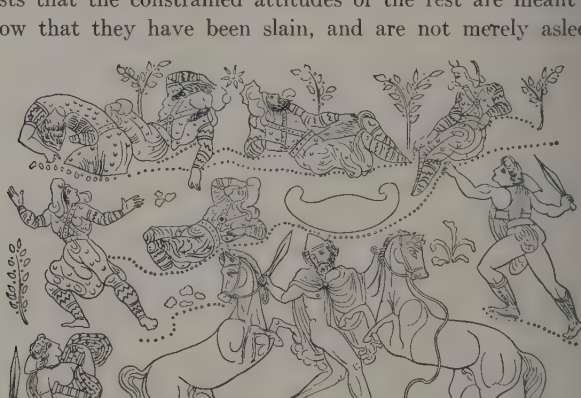

FIG. 96.

The standing Thracian has evidently been waked, and is giving the alarm. Homer does not tell us that any of the Thracians was awaked; but he comes near it, for he says that when Diomedes came to King Rhesus he was breathing hard, for an evil dream stood above his head. The second figure of Diomedes is very curious. This seems a distinct instance of that method of continuous narration of which I have spoken above. Diomedes is represented both in his ravening and in his retreat.

Dr. Engelmann has cited in connection with this duplication the passage in which Homer represents Diomedes as hesitating whether he should carry out the chariot or go on to slaughter more of the foe. This citation I think misleading, and a good example of the tendency of the modern archaeologist to suppose that a vase-painter must work on the basis of some literary authority.

The vase-paintings of which the subject is taken from the wanderings of Odysseus, as detailed in the *Odyssey*,[1] are comparatively few in number. The adventures with the Cyclops, with Circe, with the Sirens, and with Scylla, all occur in various ancient works of art, but these subjects do not form large groups. Here then we may study the mutual workings of artistic tradition and artistic purpose under somewhat different conditions. I take as examples an archaic vase in which the blinding of the Cyclops is represented, and a red-figured vase whereon is depicted the adventure with the Sirens.

Every one will remember the delightful fairy tale which tells how Odysseus, after drugging the Cyclops with wine, cut a piece from his club and hardened the point of it in the fire, and then with the help of his comrades burnt out the one eye of the monster, thus reducing him to helplessness. In depicting this episode the one essential feature which the vase-painters cannot miss is the actual blinding; the Cyclops must be reclining, and two or three men driving the hardened pole into his eye. We have several early vase-pictures of the subject. In the oldest of all, the vase of Aristonophos,[2] the scene is as simply rendered as possible. The painter of a kylix of the Spartan class[3] adds two curious touches — the Cyclops has in his hands the severed legs of one of Odysseus' companions, and the hero is

[1] They are put together in Miss Jane Harrison's *Myths of the Odyssey*.
[2] Engelmann's *Bilderatlas zur Odyssee*, Pl. VI.
[3] *Mon. d. Inst.*, I., 7.

in the act of offering him a bowl of wine. Three distinct times, the meal of the Cyclops, his drunkenness, and his blinding are thus amalgamated. Quite as complete is the anachronism in the black-figured Attic vase which I engrave (Fig. 97).[1] Here Odysseus figures twice; his hat, his sword, and his spotted chiton being identical in both representations. On the left he is

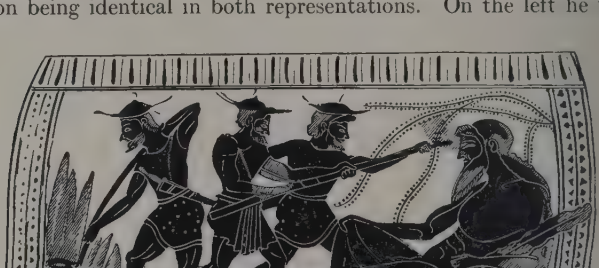

FIG. 97. — Attic vase.

hardening the pole in the fire, on the right he is directing it into the eye of the Cyclops. This pole indeed appears thrice, since it is represented also as a club in the hand of Polyphemus.

The monster is no monster, as he is in Etruscan and Pompeian art, save for size; he has apparently two eyes, and a good Greek profile. Here we have the inevitable Greek dislike to the monstrous triumphant. It is noticeable that in the *Odyssey* the deformity of the Cyclops is not dwelt on. He is called πελωρος, but this word only means "huge," and is indeed often applied to the gods. Homer does not, like Hesiod, state that the Cyclops had but one eye, though, of course, if Polyphemus could be blinded by one push of the sharp stake, he can in logic have had but one eye. The fact is that the writer of the *Odyssey* has not the concrete imagination of Greek plastic

[1] *Gazette Archéol.*, 1887, Pl. 1.

art. His descriptions of the strange beings whom Odysseus encounters are often vague; the Cyclopes and the Laestrygones are only spoken of as gigantic. The companions of Odysseus, when bewitched by Circe, do not, as they are represented on the vases, turn into animal-headed men, but into very swine. The Sirens are not said to be unlike ordinary women in form. Only Scylla is frankly spoken of as monstrous, as having twelve feet and six heads, as being, in fact, a six-fold being, and seizing on six of the companions of Odysseus. Scylla in Greek art is in the form of a mermaid, with dogs about her middle. The gap between the vague story-telling of Homer and the definite and concrete spirit of Greek plastic art is very striking.

In the vase which I have described, then, we may see a traditional scheme, varied by the desire to get in as much as possible of the Homeric tale.

In the next vase-painting we have a representation of the passing of the Sirens, from an amphora in the British Museum (Fig. 98).[1] The ship with furled sail rows swiftly on, with Odysseus tied to the mast, according to his own directions. Two Sirens, in the form of human-headed birds, one called Himeropa, are standing singing on the rocks, a third with closed eyes is falling headlong into the sea. We have here three interesting sets of facts: (1) Homeric reminiscence, (2) artistic tradition, (3) continuous narration. (1) In the fact that the sails are furled while the rowers ply their oars we may perhaps see a reminiscence of the Homeric lines (XII., 170–172), which tell how the mariners pulled down their sails and took to their oars; but again the coincidence may be fortuitous. The binding of Odysseus to the mast is, of course, of the essence of the story, and could not be missed. (2) Artistic tradition is visible chiefly in the forms of the Sirens, who are here not sweet-voiced women, as in Homer, and on some Roman sarcophagi, but birds with human heads, an art form which in Egypt

[1] *Mon. d. Inst.*, I., 8; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, III., 268.

stood for the soul, but was otherwise used among the Greeks. Here, as in many cases, the Greeks, to repeat the phrase of Brunn, borrowed the letters of art from the East, but used them to spell out their own ideas. It must be confessed that in these bird-women there is nothing terrible; one would expect

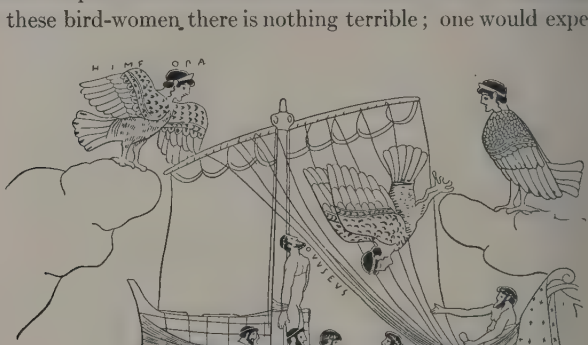

FIG. 98. — Vase in British Museum.

a warrior like Odysseus to make short work with them. The Greeks carried their dislike of the horrible in art sometimes to an extreme length. (3) I am disposed to see contamination and continuous narration in the introduction of the dead Siren falling into the sea, for there was a story current after the Homeric age, that when the Argonauts passed the islands of the Sirens, Orpheus entered into a musical contest with them, and defeated them, on which they threw themselves into the sea in despair. This story seems to have been transferred by the vase-painter into the myth of Odysseus. In this case the second Siren, she on the right, would be depicted at two different moments, first as singing, second as throwing herself into the sea, and indeed as already dead. It may be to some extent a con-

firmation of this interpretation that Homer mentions but two Sirens; but this is, of course, not conclusive; and nymphs and daemons of this class commonly go in threes.

I have already observed that the subjects of vase-paintings are far more frequently taken from the other poems of the epic cycle than from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Something must be said about this large class of paintings. But as we have no actual text of the cyclic writers for comparison, it will be best to reserve one of the most ordinary and typical subjects of representation, the Judgment of Paris, for full treatment in a later chapter.

I will take one more example, from the Homeric Hymns, which though they belong of course to a later age than the Homeric, are perhaps best treated of here.

In the seventh hymn we find a charming tale of how Dionysus, when wandering by the shore of the sea in the guise of a beautiful youth, was seized and carried off by Tyrrhenian pirates. But as soon as they started, wine began to flow on the deck, vine and ivy to twine round the mast, and presently the deity took the form of a raging lion, for fear of whom the pirates sprang into the sea and were transmuted into dolphins.

This story is represented in the reliefs of the well-known monument of Lysicrates at Athens, which are closely analogous in composition to paintings. But everything is translated so as to suit the artistic conditions. In a long narrow field a ship could not well be the scene of the event; so it takes place on the land. The agent of the wrath of Dionysus is not a lion, but the faithful Satyrs who usually attend him, though according to the tale in this case they were conspicuously absent. Some of the pirates are being captured or beaten; others are leaping into the sea, and as they leap are becoming dolphins: and this last fact is really almost the only one common to hymn and relief. In a vase-painting we should expect a somewhat nearer approach to the tale of the hymn, but our example is very characteristic of Greek artistic methods.

CHAPTER XVII

LITERATURE AND PAINTING CONTINUED: LYRIC AND DRAMATIC POETRY

Lyric Poetry. — We return once more to the observations of Jahn as to the influence of poetry on painting, and have to consider whether either in method of representing a story, or in general tone, vases reflect the influence of that lyric poetry of Greece which succeeded the epic. In some cases the lyric poets did not accept the epic version of a tale, but preferred a refinement of their own invention. Could versions of myth, which were due to some innovating poet, find a place in art? From what has already been said as to the relations of literature and art this would seem unlikely. Nor do I think we have any satisfactory examples of it, though some have been suggested by archaeologists. One of the greatest poetical innovators was Stesichorus of Himera, who lived about 600 B.C., and who is said to have introduced new elements and new motives into current and Homeric myth. Among other such innovations, he declared that Helen had never really been at Troy, that the Trojans held but a ghost or simulacrum of her, while the real Helen tarried in Egypt. Thus he tried to save the reputation of the heroine. He also found difficulties in the tale that Artemis had turned the inquisitive Actaeon into a stag, to be pulled down by his own dogs, and feigned rather that the goddess had merely thrown a stag's skin over his shoulders. It is most unlikely that such rationalism as this would find a way into the representations of Greek art. Professor Robert has maintained that the figure of Actaeon on the

well-known metope of Selinus takes the form it does in consequence of the views of Stesichorus;[1] but when on some vases the companions of Odysseus, whom Circe had bewitched, appear as men with the heads of animals, and on others in complete animal form, this variety is not held to denote connection with two different sets of legends. There are many ways in which the metamorphosis of a human being into a plant or an animal is depicted. On the monument of Lysicrates, the pirates who were turned into dolphins appear as half men and half fish. But Daphne, who became a laurel, appears in Pompeian paintings as human, with laurel sprays springing from head and shoulders. And Thetis in her transformations retains the human shape, while the animals into which she transforms herself appear beside her (Fig. 78). Artistic custom thus varying, there is no sufficient proof of the influence on the metope of Selinus of the writings of Stesichorus.

On a previous page (Fig. 52) I have figured an interesting vase-painting representing the descent of Theseus into the sea, to the court of Poseidon, to bring back the ring of Minos. This story does not seem to have been known to the epic. Professor Robert discussed it[2] in 1889, and was then disposed to consider the story of the love of Minos for Periboea and the throwing of the ring into the sea as due to the play of *Theseus* by Euripides, and taken thence by the painter. But a new light has been thrown upon the subject by the discovery of fragments of Bacchylides, in which the tale is given, and it might now appear that it was Bacchylides who was the source. But this can only be a conjecture; it is very likely that this poet only gives form to floating Attic legends. All the Theseus tales gain fresh popularity at Athens somewhat before the middle of the fifth century. At any rate, the mistaken view as to the debt of the vase-painter to Euripides should be a warning,

[1] *Bild und Lied*, p. 26.
[2] In the *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1889, p. 141.

and prevent us from quickly accepting a new hypothesis which may be based, like the previous one, on the mere absence of evidence.

As to the third kind of influence, which shows itself merely in tone and treatment, one cannot speak positively. It is Otto Jahn who laid stress on the lyric tone or background sometimes to be observed in works of Greek art. He speaks of the sculptors of *pathos* — Scopas, Praxiteles, and the like — as offering us something parallel to lyric poetry. But these artists were not contemporary with the great lyric age of Greece, and the parallelism is by no means clear. In any case, we can scarcely carry the view further, to include works of so unambitious a class as vase-paintings.

Tragedy. — We come finally to the dramatic writings of the great Athenian poets of the fifth century. How far did Aeschylus or Euripides influence vase-painting?

Subjects. — It can easily be shown that the choice of subjects by vase-painters is often determined by the existence of well-known tragedies which dealt with particular myths. We have reason to think that the Orestes trilogy of Aeschylus and the tragedies of Euripides were especially popular and often acted in the Hellenistic age. The subject of the fate of Orestes, and myths dealt with in many of the plays of Euripides are decidedly common on the late vases of Lower Italy, but not on the Athenian vases of the fifth century. Thus it would seem that the Greek drama exercised this kind of influence much more one or two centuries after the great age of the drama than it did at the time. We shall find examples as we go on. But the influence is more often to be observed in the mere choice of theme than in the way in which the theme is worked out.

Manner of Treatment. — How far the manner of tragedy influenced art is a question which has been a good deal discussed. In my opinion, if the elements of Greek art had been

better understood, much of this discussion would not have arisen. It has in fact often sprung from the predominance in those who have written about ancient art of a literary training, which has induced them to think that the masterpieces of tragedy exercised in Greece at the time of their production an influence far wider and more general than actually existed. On careful consideration I cannot find that much is to be gained by an attempt like that of Jahn to set apart sculptural or painted groups as in general character related to tragedy. He mentions as such the celebrated group of the Tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, copies of which are in the Naples Museum, statues in which, as he says, the sculptor put before himself the task of representing a deed at a pregnant moment in an ethical light. Perhaps we may more safely insist on the dramatic character of such compositions as those of the Parthenon pediments, where the interest rises, so to speak, to a culmination in the midst of the pediment, where Athena is being born or winning her triumph over Poseidon. Here we seem to have the dramatic action of groups, while the other figures in the pediments are present like the spectators, or indeed more like the chorus in a theatre. Yet even in this case it is rather a dramatic tendency in sculpture which makes itself felt than an example of the influence of the great tragic poets of Athens. Why should not sculpture be dramatic as well as literature?

It would seem to us to be almost inevitable, since some of the best vases were produced at Athens during the time when the drama was most flourishing, that we should be able to trace in their designs the influence of the great dramatic poets. That the vase-painters should transfer to their paintings something of what met their eyes every year at the great Dionysiac festivals would seem the most natural proceeding possible. But the expected does not always happen. It is agreed by most archaeologists who have written on the subject that it is not possible to discover on vases of the fifth century any instance of direct

borrowing of situation or event from theatrical representation. This fact can only be explained by the consideration that alike vase-painting and stage-acting were under the dominion of a number of traditions which kept the two arts rigidly apart. The tragic actor with his mask, his trailing robes, and high buskins, when off the stage, as the Greeks themselves allowed, cut a ridiculous figure; and, as a matter of fact, he does not make his way into art until near the Roman age. And if the tragedian was obliged to modify time-honoured traditions in order to limit the number of characters on the stage to three, there could be no reason why the vase-painter should slavishly follow his leading in this matter.

It is no doubt exceedingly tempting, when one finds on a vase of the fifth century a scene which we know to have also appeared on the contemporary stage, to bring the two together. Many able writers, including even Brunn, have been unable to resist the temptation; and hence have arisen many conjectures as to the line taken in lost plays of the great dramatists, or as to variant traditions which have influenced poet and painter. But in the arena of archaeological discussion none of these views has held its own, and Professor Robert, after a careful discussion, has rejected them all. In fact, the method is faulty, as will appear from our brief exposition above of the independence of vase-painters of the influence of contemporary poetry.

The only influence which can be traced on contemporary art is an indirect one. I have above spoken of the messenger scheme and the chorus scheme (chapter XV). As these both become more frequent on vases towards the middle of the fifth century, we may, perhaps, see here a contemporary reflection of the popularity of those schemes on the stage, where they are indeed indispensable.

But in the vases produced in the fourth and third centuries in the south of Italy, and especially at Tarentum, we can sometimes trace the influence exerted by the great Attic drama upon

the pictorial rendering of scenes from the lives of heroes. This may be seen especially in two examples. The story of Orestes, scenes from which are not infrequent on Italian vases, takes colour from the great trilogy of Aeschylus, and the dramas of Euripides largely affect the art-representations of the myths treated by him. That the Attic treatment of these subjects became familiar to the Italian vase-painters was no doubt mainly due to the wanderings in Italy, after the time of Alexander the Great, of troops of actors, Dionysiac artists as they were called, who carried from city to city their repertory of plays, consisting largely of the works of Euripides.

Of the appearance on vases of the late Italian class of certain kinds of persons, familiar to readers of the Euripidean tragedy, the *deus ex machina*, the ghost, the pedagogue, and the nurse, I will give an example or two.

Two vases, one at Berlin and one at Rome,[1] give us an unfamiliar version of the fate of Antigone. She is brought as a prisoner before Creon by a guard; but Herakles intervenes between her and condemnation. It is possible that in the lost *Antigone* of Euripides, Herakles may at the crisis have appeared *ex machina;* but it may be that some merely traditional version of the story is followed. On one of the vases Herakles is standing in a temple or shrine. A shrine in the background is in this class of vases a common feature; but it has nothing to do with the dramatic stage. One suspects therefore that the connection between these vase-paintings and the drama is not close. Of the *Antigone* of Sophocles no influence is to be traced.

On vases which represent the crime of Medea [2] we find sometimes the ghost of Aietes; and the pedagogue in charge of the children is sometimes present, as he is in the Florence sculptural group of the destruction of the children of Niobe. A nurse is often present in late vase-pictures to attend either on ladies of

[1] *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1871, Pl. 40.
[2] Such as *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1847, Pl. 3.

rank or on children. Thus on a vase which represents Telephus in the palace of Agamemnon threatening the life of the young Orestes,[1] a nurse is present. It has been conjectured that this vase-painting may have some relation to the play of Euripides on the theme of Telephus.

But even when we allow the influence upon later vase-paintings of certain Attic tragedies, we must be careful to observe that it is the plot rather than the staging which had an effect. Archaeologists, in commenting on the points of connection between the two, have often been ready to forget the great gulf which lies between ancient and modern stage-production. The costume worn by all the actors on the Greek stage to the very end was specially planned by its great inventor, Aeschylus, to remove them from likeness to ordinary men and women. The mask was invariable, and it was frankly a mask, no close imitation of a face. The long, bright-coloured robes of the personages, and their high buskins, must have made any rapid movement as impossible as was facial play. The plays were recited rather than acted on the stage, and the great qualifications of the actor (actresses of course being unknown) were a loud and clear voice and a correct pronunication. It is easy to understand that vase-painters would rather represent scenes even of the Medea or the Hippolytus in their own way than in the way adopted on the stage.

I do not propose here to treat in detail of the vase-paintings of Lower Italy which may be regarded as parallel to the Orestes trilogy of Aeschylus and the dramas of Euripides. All the most important examples are engraved in a work so easily accessible as Baumeister's *Denkmäler* under their respective headings. In Vogel's *Scenen Euripideischer Tragödien in griechischen Vasengemälden* will be found full lists of such vases, and each painting is compared with the play on the same sub-

[1] *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1857, Pl. 106.

ject. In Mr. Huddilston's *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase-paintings* the reader will find much useful information. I will only take as examples of method two vases: one to show how closely in a few rare instances the vase-painter will come to the text of the play, and one to show how strongly in the great majority of cases he preserves his independence.

First, then, I represent a scene from a late and poor vase at St. Petersburg (Fig. 99).[1] We here see Orestes in the temple

FIG. 99. — Vase at St. Petersburg.

at Delphi, clinging to the omphalos, with the naked sword in his hand. Before the temple lie the Erinnyes sleeping, represented as hideous women in hunting dress, without wings or snakes. To the right a female figure, identified as the priestess by the great temple-key which she carries, flies in terror at the

[1] First published by Stephani, *Comptes rendus*, 1863, Pl. VI., 3–5, from the Campana collection. On the other side of the vase are a satyr and a maenad standing by a krater.

sight. The closeness of the situation to that which occurs at the beginning of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, where the priestess comes forth from the stage door, which represents the door of the temple, and tells what she has seen, will occur to every one who has read Aeschylus. But after all the likeness is to the play, not to the acting of it. Orestes and the priestess are not clad in mask and flowing drapery and buskins, as they would be on the stage. And the temple would certainly not be thus erected on the stage: the front of it would be merely the front of the stage building.[1] The Erinnyes are a reminiscence of the description by the priestess in *Eumenides*, 52–55. She speaks of them first as women, then as Gorgons, and yet not quite like Gorgons, but rather like the Harpies in pictures bearing off the food of Phineus, yet differing from Harpies in not being winged, though black and hideous.

Now before the time of Aeschylus the Erinnyes had not thus been represented, but as staid and venerable deities, clad in long robes, carrying serpents,[2] three in number, as were usually the groups of nymphs and maiden deities at Athens. Aeschylus innovated by increasing their number, and by giving them a foul and hideous aspect, and he succeeded so well in this latter respect that he is said to have produced a panic in the theatre. In both these respects our vase-painter follows the Aeschylean stage tradition rather than the older type, and we may see by this instance that the nearer a vase-painter comes to actual illustration of a poet the less interesting does he become.

In some of the Orestean vase-paintings the Erinnyes are represented as winged. They seem thus to have been brought on the stage by Euripides; but in fact this was a reversion to an older notion, the Gorgons, Harpies, and other unpropitious daemons being generally represented in early art with wings.

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIX., 257–262.

[2] For example, a dedication at Argos, *Athen. Mittheil.*, IV., 9.

Very different is the other vase-painting which I figure[1] (Fig. 100). Here we have a subject which is probably taken from a play of Euripides, the Iphigeneia in Tauris, but in the *treatment* there is nothing to suggest such a derivation. In the background, that is, according to early perspective, at the top of the picture, we see the Tauric Artemis and her temple; beside her sits her brother Apollo. In the foreground is a laurel tree and an altar; Orestes sits on the altar and Pylades stands beside him, while Iphigeneia, holding a knife for the sacrifice, approaches the altar, accompanied by an attendant, who carries on her head the other things necessary for the sacrifice. It is evident that the subject is the preparation for the sacrifice of Orestes and his companion to Artemis, but the sacrifice is but hinted at. There is no action, still less any flavour of tragic treatment. The gods in the background are a regular feature of this kind of vase.

From first to last, speaking broadly, the vase-painter is true to the principles of his vocation, and follows the lines of his art without wavering.

We may find a reflection, not indeed of the Euripidean stage, but of Euripidean poetry, in some of the wall-paintings of Pompeii. One of the most noted of these[2] represents Orestes and Pylades brought as captives before King Thoas in Tauris, while Iphigeneia stands in the background, at the door of her temple, holding in her hands the image of Artemis. There is something in the simplicity of the grouping and the pathos of the expression which suggests that it may be a copy of, or suggested by, the work of a painter of an earlier age. What it represents is not primarily a scene from the drama of Euripides, but a situation. The capture of the two friends, their condemnation by Thoas, their deliverance by Iphigeneia, even

[1] From a Ruvo vase in the Naples Museum. Published in *Mon. d. Inst.*, II., 43.

[2] *Mon. d. Inst.*, VIII., 22.

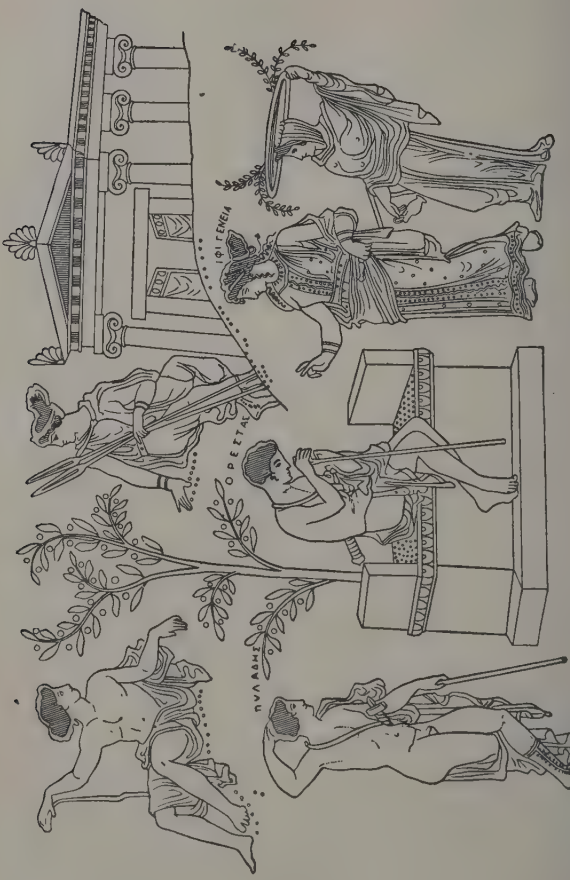

FIG. 100. — Vase of Ruvo.

the carrying away of the image to Greece, — all is hinted at in the painting; but there is no suggestion of acting, or of the stage. Perhaps still more closely related to Euripidean ideas and poetry is the figure of Medea holding the sword and meditating the slaying of her children, which we find in more than one example at Pompeii. Sometimes the figure of Medea is detached from its connection and stands as an epitome of a tragic situation.[1] No figure of antiquity has come down to us which is fuller of expression. As a late Greek painter, Timomachus, is known to have painted a noted picture of Medea, it is not out of the way to suppose that he is the originator of the Medea of the Pompeian paintings, though of course the Pompeian artist greatly vulgarizes what he copies.

When we pass to a still later class of monuments than the vase-paintings of Calabria and the wall-paintings of Pompeii, namely, to the Roman sarcophagi, we certainly find frequent treatment of the subjects adopted by Aeschylus and Euripides. The great dramatists had given form and currency to certain myths, which thus became interesting to Roman poets and mythographers. And they became familiar also to the second-rate sculptors who made sarcophagi for wealthy Romans. But it was the tale as current in literature, not the play as acted on the stage, which influenced these sculptors. We find no reminiscence of the mask or the flowing tragic robes. What we do find is something much nearer to illustration, in the modern sense of the word; though the crowding of successive events of the drama into a single field of the sarcophagus, involving the method of continuous narration, of which I have spoken above, is a thing foreign to modern art. Several sarcophagi, for example, give us a series of scenes from the story of Orestes. In the case of one [2] we find on the side a representation of the slaying of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, with the

[1] *Museo Borbonico*, V., 33; VIII., 22; X., 21.

[2] Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, Pl. LV. Cf. Pl. LIV.

Eumenides in the background, while on one end we have the acquittal of Orestes by Athena, on the other Orestes and Pylades in Tauris. Here, at all events, the fashion of the Eumenides and the presence of Athena are due to the influence of Aeschylus. But they have clearly by this time become part of the myth, and there is no direct relation to the drama.

I do not propose to carry the history of the relations between poem and painting down to the poems of the Hellenistic or the Roman age. There is undoubtedly a parallelism, for it must rather be so termed than spoken of as a connection, between the poems of the Alexandrian writers, Theocritus, Apollonius Rhodius, Callimachus, and their contemporaries, together with the Roman writers of the Augustan age, who owe so much to them, and the abundant wall-paintings of Pompeii and Rome. Both alike are dominated by the influence of Alexandria and the other great urban centres of the Hellenistic world. Both alike reflect the character of that world, in playful treatment of the myths of gods and heroes, in a more sentimental regard for women, in a growing appreciation and love of natural scenery, and in many other respects. It is impossible, without good representations of several of the paintings, to go into further detail as to the manner in which they embody the ideas of the Hellenistic age. The best book on the subject remains, after many years, Dr. Helbig's *Campanische Wandmalerei;* an English book on the subject is greatly needed.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ART HISTORY OF A MYTH: THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS

The relations between art-representation, on one side, and literature, on the other, might best be illustrated by placing side by side the literary and the artistic treatment of a myth in successive periods. Unfortunately, there is no myth which lends itself quite satisfactorily to such treatment. The favourite themes of vases are taken from the tales embodied in the cyclic poets. Subjects are seldom taken from the tales of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey;* nor do the fortunes of the houses of Oedipus and Atreus, which furnish much of the material of the Tragic Poets, meet with satisfactory treatment on vases. This being the case, it is better to take for our theme a subject fully dealt with in all the periods of art, but not of great literary importance, rather than a theme familiar to the poets, but only rarely appearing in Greek painting.

On the whole the best subject which can be chosen is that of the Judgment of Paris, which fulfils the conditions just named. The abundance of representations on vases is great; and their investigation will make clear the necessity of comparing one with another, and explaining one by another, taking them in groups rather than one by one. We shall find that they will resolve themselves into an orderly series, running parallel to the literary and artistic history of Greece. And we shall find that, when any representation differs from the general run, the reason far more often lies in artistic purpose than in any influence exercised by literature.

I propose to set forth period by period the literary and the archaeological data in regard to the myth.

(I) *Early period down to B.C. 450*

Here our literary authorities are the *Cypria* and the *Iliad*. In the *Iliad* (XXIV. 25), we find mention made of the anger cherished against Paris by Hera and Athena "in that he condemned those goddesses, when they came to his home, and preferred her who brought to him deadly lustfulness." These words belong to a late stratum in the poem, and they may be an interpolation due to the *Cypria*. In the latter poem, according to the summary of Proclus, it was related how Eris, entering while the gods were feasting at the wedding of Peleus, stirred up a strife on the subject of beauty between Athena, Hera, and Aphrodite, who were led by Hermes at the command of Zeus to Mount Ida, where Paris was to decide the quarrel. Paris preferred Aphrodite, excited by her promise to him of Helen as a bride.

It is very difficult, from this bald summary, to determine what was and what was not in the *Cypria*. If Aphrodite tried to bribe Paris, we may not unreasonably suppose that the other goddesses made a similar attempt; but this is not certain. There is no mention of the golden apple inscribed "to the fairest," which in the later story was the original cause of the dispute. In a surviving fragment of the *Cypria*[1] there is described an elaborate robing of Aphrodite for the judgment in garments scented with flowers; and it may be that the preparations of the other goddesses also were described.

The earliest vases which represent the subject are of B.C. 600 or thereabouts. They give a merely processional scheme. Hermes, distinguished by his herald's staff, advances, followed by the three goddesses in single file; they are draped and not distinguished one from another. Paris, curiously enough, is not always to be found; and when he is present, his only object seems to be escape; he flies and Hermes pursues, or Hermes

[1] No. 3 in Kinkel's edition.

grapples with him in the fashion of a wrestler, and holds him fast. This unwillingness of Paris to act as judge is strongly emphasized by the painters. The Judgment of Paris without Paris seems an odd thing; but what the artists insist upon is the journey of the goddesses under the convoy of Hermes, who represents the will of the gods, to Ida. For this purpose they adopt a scheme which may very probably originally have had another meaning. In reliefs from the sixth century onwards we sometimes find Hermes leading a procession of nymphs

FIG. 101. — Vase at Florence.

across the field; these reliefs were dedications set up in the grottoes and caves sacred to Pan and the Nymphs. The nymphs are usually three in number, and early art represents them as draped. It is natural to suppose that the processional scheme of the Judgment of Paris on vases is taken from a procession of nymphs led by Hermes: but we cannot convert this probability into a certainty because we have no nymph-reliefs of so early a date as the first representations of the procession of the three goddesses.

Fig. 101 from a vase at Florence gives us a representation of the processional type, with slight variations. The midmost of the goddesses is differentiated from the others by the absence of stars from her dress. Hermes pursues Paris, who, bearded, and clad in chiton and long cloak, tries to escape.

The owl beneath the legs of Hermes is merely inserted to fill a space, as are the two figures conversing on the left, unless indeed we can venture to identify in the latter Zeus and Themis, who planned the whole series of events which began with the Judgment of Paris.

The differentiation of Athena is soon carried further. As she is an armed goddess while the other two are unarmed, she naturally separates them; Hera naturally comes first and Aphrodite third; though the fact that Aphrodite was victorious in the contest induces the vase-painter sometimes to place her first; and occasionally Athena walks first. A dog sometimes accompanies the procession; he is the dog of Paris, and marks the rural character of the scene, and the fact that Paris was a herdsman: but this dog sometimes walks in the procession, instead of meeting it.

A curious trace of the influence of a received type is to be found on a black-figured vase[1] where Paris precedes the procession of the goddesses; he carries a lyre and his form and drapery are those of Apollo. The artist must have been acquainted with the scheme of Apollo leading the Muses, and through carelessness copied it on his vase. It is an example of the contamination of one artistic scheme by another.

In the vases painted by the great Attic vase-painters of the time of the Persian wars, Euphronius, Duris, and the rest, the scheme is retained, but we have much additional detail, sometimes with a definite meaning and sometimes merely for the sake of artistic variety. This furnishes a parallel to what we observe in sculpture of the late archaic period, in which we have great refinement and delicacy in detail; but new types do not freely appear until the age of expansion after the Persian repulse. We still have a procession headed by Hermes, and approaching Paris; but Paris is seated amid his flocks, and the three goddesses carry emblems of their powers and functions.

[1] Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Pl. 173.

On a vase from the pottery of Hiero (Fig. 102), Paris is playing on the lyre, while his goats sport about him; Aphrodite is accompanied by four floating winged figures, various forms of Eros. On a vase from the pottery of Brygus, Paris, with head

FIG. 102. — Vase of Hiero.

thrown back, is singing to the lyre as the goddesses approach. Later the cortège of the deities grows more elaborate. On the cover of a toilet box at Copenhagen,[1] Hera travels in a chariot drawn by four horses, Athena in one drawn by two serpents, while to the chariot of Aphrodite two winged figures of Eros are harnessed (Fig. 103). Perhaps more significant is a kylix at Berlin[2] (Fig. 104) on which Paris appears seated between

[1] Dumont et Chaplain, *Vases peints*, Pl. X.
[2] *Cat. Berlin*, 2536. Roscher, *Lexikon*, III., p. 1615.

the columns of a stately palace, as a king's son. Each of the goddesses holds out a small figure, Aphrodite a winged Eros, Athena a helmet, Hera a small lion. It may be that these are

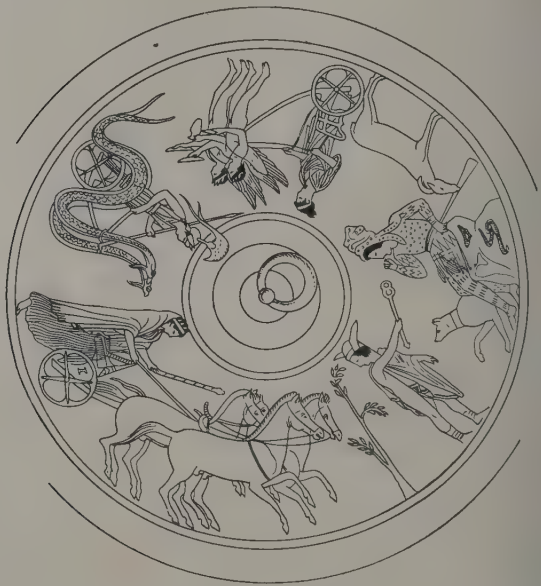

FIG. 103. — Toilet vessel.

merely attributes of the deities, but more probably the vase-painter means thus to suggest that each tried to bribe Paris by a gift appropriate to her. We have seen that we are not sure whether this offering of gifts was a feature of the story in the *Cypria* or not.

(II) *Period after B.C. 450*

During this period the Judgment of Paris figures more largely in literature. There was a Satyric play of Sophocles called

"*The Judgment,*" in which Paris is made to decide between Aphrodite and Athena, Hera being eliminated. Possibly the reason for this elimination may be only technical, as more than three actors could not hold the stage at once. Or the omission may have been purposeful. In any case it would somewhat

FIG. 104. — Kylix at Berlin.

alter the character of the incident, giving it a moral not unlike that of the tale told by Prodicus of the choice of Heracles between Pleasure and Virtue.

The Judgment is mentioned in no less than five plays of Euripides. In the *Iphigeneia in Aulis* (l. 1289) the chorus speaks of the coming of the three goddesses, under the leading of Hermes, to Paris in Mount Ida, and each of the three is spoken of as relying not on a bribe, but on her exalted function — Hera on her queenly position, Pallas on her warlike power, Aphrodite on her mastery of love. In the *Helena*, Helen (l. 18) speaks of the goddesses as vying in beauty. But in the *Troades* (l. 920) Euripides adopts a version of the myth, which represents each goddess as trying to win the judge with gifts. Pallas promises that at the head of his Phrygians he shall conquer Greece; Hera, that he shall have a wide kingdom in Asia and Europe; while Aphrodite promises the person of Helen. In a fourth

play, the *Andromache* (l. 275), the chorus dwells on the preparation of the goddesses for the judgment by washings in the springs of Ida.

It is not only the poets who touch upon the myth, but also some of the prose-writers. Isocrates, writing in the earlier part of the fourth century, speaks of it. In the contest of beauty, he writes:[1] "Hera offered Paris the sovereignty of all Asia, Athena victory in war, Aphrodite Helen as a bride. Paris, not being able to give judgment on the physical charms of the three, and being dazzled by their beauty, was obliged to go by their promises, and chose the possession of Helen rather than all else." Of the way in which the story of the Judgment is treated by the writers of the Hellenistic age we can best judge from the works of the Roman poets who copy them, Ovid, Propertius, and the rest. The version generally accepted is that of Isocrates, that Paris was set to judge the goddesses, who appeared naked before him; but found himself unable to compare such heavenly charms; whereupon each tried to entice him with promises, and Aphrodite was most successful.

The vase-paintings belonging to the period after B.C. 450 introduce changes; but it is noteworthy that the changes do not, if we except one vase, show a development of idea, but they tend rather to overlay the original scheme with what is irrelevant. The order of the goddesses is broken up; they are sometimes grouped about Paris instead of approaching him in procession. Attributes are increased; and fresh personalities are introduced somewhat irrelevantly.

The one vase which is the exception gives us a charming picture (Fig. 105). What is here represented is not the actual Judgment, nor the procession to Ida, but the preparations of the goddesses. We have seen that in the *Cypria* the toilet of Aphrodite is described; and in the *Andromache* we read how

[1] *Encomium of Helen*, par. 46.

Fig. 105. — Vase of the Basilicata.

the three goddesses bathed themselves in the streams of Ida. On the vase we have a more delicate discrimination. Hera holds a mirror and by the help of it adjusts her veil; Aphrodite, with Eros as a helper, decks herself with jewels; but Athena is content with laying aside helmet and shield, and bathing her arms in a spring. She reminds us of the line of Tennyson — "Judge thou me by what I am; so shalt thou find me fairest."

Fig. 106. — Judgment: order broken up.

Here we have decided improvement. But the vase-paintings more often show decadence; and meaning is rather lost than gained. For example, on a vase of the Sabouroff Collection,[1] Athena stands behind Paris; Victory appears, but she seems to be advancing rather towards Hera, who is identified by a lofty crown, than towards Aphrodite (Fig. 106). In another vase-painting of the period[2] Eros, instead of being a small satellite of his mother, in which function his presence would be tolerable, is as large as the two deities, Athena and Aphrodite, between whom he stands. Otherwise on this vase the old processional order is retained. On another vase[3] of the early fourth century the order is varied. Paris is seated at the left with Athena (or perhaps Oenone) behind him; before him are Aphrodite attended by Eros, and Hera accompanied by her daughter Hebe.

[1] Pl. 61. [2] *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1833, Tan. E. [3] *Jour. Hell. Studies*, XI., Pl. 4.

One of the most elaborate late fifth-century vases [1] places Hermes and Paris, clad in the Phrygian dress, in the foreground, and groups the three goddesses round him, with Zeus, Eris, and the Sun-god above. The determining cause of Paris' Judgment is hinted at: a little Eros flutters by his shoulder, and is evidently whispering to him of Helen.

In the large and elaborate vases of late fine style which reach us from Italy, but some of which seem to be Athenian, we have further modifications and developments. As a result of the working of the Polygnotan notion of perspective, the figures of the picture are no longer in one plane. Paris, who is seated, and Hermes form the centre, and the goddesses with their dependants and ministrants are grouped around them, and to these are often added other figures whose appositeness does not appear. On one vase [2] we have Eros, Himeros, and Pothos, and an unexplained youth riding on a dolphin. On another [3] we have Eris looking down from a hill in the background; but there are also present Zeus, Clymene, Eutychia, and Helios driving his chariot. Paris gives up his Hellenic appearance and wears the Phrygian dress with long sleeves and trousers. In these cases we have a series of artistic variations on the original theme, but no addition to the meaning.

In a few vases of this class, however, we have elements which tell of thought or of learning. In one scene, we see Eris and Themis, distinguished by inscriptions, conversing together in the background.[4] Eris, of course, comes in naturally, but Themis makes one pause. And although names are added almost at random on vases of this age, it seems likely that the painter was thinking of the beginning of the epic *Cypria*, where Zeus and Themis discuss the excessive multiplication of men on the earth, and set moving the course of events which leads through the Judgment of Paris to the Trojan war.

[1] At Carlsruhe, Overbeck, *Gal. hero. Bildwerke*, Pl. 11.
[2] Gerhard, *Apulische Vasenbilder*, Pl. C.
[3] *Ibid.*, Pl. D.
[4] *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, A. XI.

Another curious innovation in some vases of the Italian potteries [1] is the transfer of the office of arbiter between the deities from Paris to Apollo, who is represented as seated by his Delphic Omphalos while Zeus addresses him. This curious change in the referee has naturally puzzled archaeologists, and some have conjectured the existence of an alternative story, according to which the oracle of Apollo, the highest court of appeal in Greece, was the judge appointed to award the prize of beauty. It seems, however, very unlikely that any such story could be of really early date. In Plato's *Republic* [2] there is a phrase which seems to have a bearing on the question. Socrates there says that among other Homeric stories which should be rejected is that concerning the strife of the goddesses and the decision which came through Zeus and Themis. Now Themis at Delphi inherited the oracle of the Earth (Gê), and was in turn succeeded by Apollo; so possibly the phrase in Plato may have reference to some Delphic decision. But it seems more probable that Plato is referring only to the share which Themis had from the beginning in the whole series of events, and that the vase-painter, with that little knowledge which is always dangerous, merely inserted Apollo in the scene as the general judge of difficult questions.

In Pompeian paintings the judgment of Paris is a not rare subject. In these the scene is again simpler, usually confined to the main actors. Aphrodite is sometimes naked, or all but naked, but the other goddesses retain their robes and their dignity. The poets take greater liberties with them than the painters. In a painting of the baths of Titus, however, we have a triad of undraped deities standing before Paris.

Taking the vases which represent the Judgment, not as a series, but one by one, some eminent archaeologists have fallen into the mistake of too closely connecting them with myth and literature. Thus Stephani of St. Petersburg comments on a

[1] *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, A. X.; E. XI.

[2] p. 379 E.

black-figured vase on which, besides Paris and Hermes, only Athena and one other goddess are present.[1] This vase shows the usual processional scheme, and the abridgment of the design for economy of space or time is a familiar phenomenon in vases. But Stephani wants to see the influence of the above-mentioned drama of Sophocles, wherein Paris has to decide between Athena and Aphrodite. The vase dates from nearly a century earlier than the play of Sophocles; but apart from this conclusive objection, the faultiness of Stephani's method is obvious.

Welcker again wanted to infer from the prominence in vase-paintings of the processional scheme that the journey of the goddesses to Mount Ida was an important feature in the *Cypria*. Here again we have a complete misconception. According to the earlier vase-painters, the procession of deities is not a preliminary to the judgment, but is a manner of representing the judgment itself; they know no other. The scheme of the judgment is gradually developed out of the processional scheme, and there are almost identical designs in which Paris is standing or seated, present or absent.

Nothing could show more clearly than does this brief history how poetry and art in Greece take quite independent lines. They follow parallel courses, but there can seldom be traced any line of influence running from one to the other, apart from the influence exercised by the Homeric and cyclic poems. The most notable exception to the rule is to be found in the influence of the Euripidean dramas on the vase-painting of South Italy in the Hellenistic age. And even here, as we have seen, the influence seldom reaches beyond suggesting a subject or giving hints as to its treatment. Illustration, in the modern sense of the word, was, as I observed at the outset, unknown in Greece.

[1] Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Pl. 172.

CHAPTER XIX

ART IN RELATION TO HISTORY

Sculpture in relation to history may be considered in two very different ways: first, we may inquire how the actual political history of Greece is reflected in the productions of the sculptor; second, how the course of sculpture runs parallel to the history of the Greek spirit in other fields of activity.

It might be supposed that the idealizing tendency of Greek art would make it unsuitable for recording actual facts of history — the details of a battle, the circumstances of a civic success, and the like. There is some justification for this view, but it must not be expressed in too absolute a way. The walls of Greek stoae abounded in representations which were in intention historic. Micon, or Panaenus, painted in a stoa at Athens a representation of the battle of Marathon, and Euphranor painted the cavalry battle at Mantinea in which Epaminondas took part. Our knowledge, however, of surviving Greek monuments forbids us to think that these would be realistic representations of "the delights and the horrors of war."

In the friezes of the beautiful Ionic monument of Xanthus, the so-called Nereid monument, brought to the British Museum by Sir Charles Fellowes, we find a sculptural record of an actual siege of some unknown city in Lycia or Caria.[1] Several scenes are portrayed, — the assailants advancing against the city and mounting scaling ladders to the assault, the general of the besiegers sitting in state to receive envoys from the city, the flight or the captivity of the citizens. But though the scenes

[1] *Mon. d. Inst.*, X., Pls. 11–18, and the histories of sculpture.

show us the course of events, there is nothing in them to help us to identify the besieger or the besieged city. The intention is to represent the generic rather than the individual.

On the great sarcophagus found at Sidon there are depicted two scenes from the life of Alexander the Great — one of his battles and a lion hunt in which he takes part. We will analyze the former scene (Fig. 107); nothing could give one a clearer notion of the mingled precision and ideality of Greek sculpture. To begin with, there is nothing loose or inaccurate in the representation of dress, armour, and the like. The Persian cavalry and archers, the Macedonian horse and foot, the Greek peltasts, are all armed and clad in different ways, and one can tell at a glance to which branch of the army each figure belongs. And each fights in his own way. Of course at no actual spot in the battle-field would different troops be thus mingled in picturesque grouping: the scene is not a realistic excerpt from the battle, but an idealized summary of it. Let us briefly analyze it, figure by figure. On the left, Alexander, distinguished by his lion-skin helmet, charges in person, overthrowing with his lance a horse and a rider, who had already turned to fly from his impetuous attack. At the opposite end, an elderly officer, probably the veteran Parmenio, hurls a Persian general opposed to him from his horse into the arms of a foot-soldier who hurries up. In the midst of the composition, a third horseman, a masterly figure, strikes down a Persian foot-soldier. To the left of the central group, a Macedonian foot-guard rushes impetuously on a Persian foe. To the right, a light-armed Greek boldly meets the charge of a Persian rider. Below, one sees two Persian archers drawing their bows, and five bodies of dead warriors, of whom four are Persian and one is Greek.

The Persians in the scene are more numerous, twelve to six, yet their defeat is clearly shown. A third of their number has already fallen, and others are falling. They cannot resist the

FIG. 107. — Sarcophagus from Sidon.

charge of the heavy-armed Macedonian foot, still less the onslaught of the cavalry of the guard. What a Greek eye would have at once observed, and dwelt on with satisfaction, is the wonderful symmetry of the composition. Side balances side and group group to perfection, yet without any slavish or pedantic correspondence. The modern eye would scarcely notice the symmetry till it was pointed out, but it will bear the closest examination. Every figure is carefully worked out in reference to the whole scheme, and the story of victory and defeat is admirably told. To Alexander the Persian foe dares not even offer resistance; Parmenio has easily overthrown his opponent, but the younger captain in the middle still meets resistance. It is fair to judge that among the events of the battle portrayed were a charge of Macedonian foot on Persian infantry, another of Persian cavalry on light-armed Greek infantry; while the decisive move was the charge of Alexander and his cavalry. Thus the composition, while admirable in itself and perfect in detail, really tells us more of the tale of the battle than could any realistic extract. It must be explained that the whole relief is really continuous, and only for convenience divided in our engraving.

This sarcophagus is a wonderful masterpiece; but it is a somewhat late product of Greek art, and Attic sculpture at an earlier time took an even more ideal line in the representation of history. Of this a better example could scarcely be found than the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon, in which may be traced in an Attic rendering the whole history of the city of Athens from its mythical foundation onward; the history as it existed in the mind of the gods rather than as it existed visibly on the earth.

The history begins with the eastern pediment. Here was represented the birth of Athena. What was the original meaning of the strange story of the birth? Why the goddess leaped full-armed from the head of her father, it is not easy to say.

In this matter there are various schools of interpretation. Anthropologists of the school of Mr. Lang will lay stress upon the monstrosity of the tale that Zeus swallowed Metis when Athena was in her womb, and then produced the child himself, and compare the still more barbarous tales of a similar bearing which come to us from savage races in the South Seas and Africa and America. Those interpreters who lay emphasis on the physical basis of myth will see in Athena the sudden dawn of the South, leaping up from the underworld, or the lightning springing from the cloven cloud. But we must not confuse, as many of these investigators do, the question of origin with the question of meaning. What it is of importance that we should know is what meaning attached to the myth at Athens in the fifth century. To the men who built the Parthenon, Athena was no phenomenon of savage myth, nor was she the dawn nor the lightning, but something nearer and dearer and more spiritual by far. She was, as I have already pointed out, the embodiment of the spiritual personality of Athens itself. And so when the goddess is born, Athens, too, is born in a high and ideal sense. Because she lives, Athens must also live. And she springs from the head of Zeus because the city arises out of the clear and determinate counsel of the gods, and is born to occupy a certain sphere and to do a certain work in Hellas and the world. She is born full-armed because without arms no purpose could come to fruition in the early world.

In the western pediment the tale is carried on. The destiny of the nascent city and of the Attic land is to be determined. Is Athens to become a votary of Poseidon? Is she to live in the ways of the sea, to be devoted to commerce, to strive after a prosperity which is mainly material? In part she must take this course. Material necessities control her purposes, as they do the purposes of all cities. Men must live, and to live in the not too fertile Attic land they must increase their natural re-

sources by manufacture and by trade. But still the city is not to be the city of Poseidon. In spite of physical necessities she shall remain true to her higher calling. Even her material development shall be controlled by Athena Ergané, the mistress of the workers. If she is to grow wealthy, it shall not be by merely supplying the grosser needs of men. Her main productions shall be connected with their higher activities. She shall produce the finest oil to make supple the limbs of athletes and to feed the lamps which burn in the presence of the gods. Her honey and her figs shall have something of the delicacy and the charm of the light Athenian air. She shall supply the most beautiful marble and the best wood for building and for carving. And one of her chief productions shall be those painted vases, in which she has almost a monopoly in the ancient world, and which have been preserved to us in such abundance in the tombs of Italy and Sicily and Cyrene.

And beside and above all this, Athens is to be the city of arms and of courage, of song and the drama, of thought and wisdom. What Athena is in Olympus, Athens is to be on earth, the favourite of Zeus, foremost in valour and in wisdom, quickest to read the divine purpose and most persistent in carrying it out; the best visible embodiment of the divine thought which lies at the root of transitory phenomena.

The pediments thus set before us the destinies of Athens. In the metopes we see the city set about the accomplishment of her destiny in spite of many hindrances and various foes. The story of the development of order out of chaos, and civilization out of barbarism, is there presented to us in four chapters. First there is the battle of the Gods and Giants, the issue of which decided whether the world was to be governed by the untamed forces of nature, storm and earthquake, lightning and cloud, or to come under the sway of an orderly and organized Olympus, with Zeus at its head. Among all the combatants in that memorable strife, none was more prominent than

Athena, who, clad in shining arms, overthrew her opponent, Enceladus, and buried him under Etna. In this combat Athens is represented by her goddess. But in the second and third chapters of the history it is the ancestors of the people of Athens, under their ancestral leader, Theseus, who appear. Their foes are respectively the monstrous Centaurs, compounded of horse and man, and the monstrous Amazons, compounded of man and woman. By overthrowing the Centaurs, Theseus and his men made it certain that Greece should not be the prey of the barbarous races of the North, stealers of boys and women, drunken and brutal, but should be able to grow and develop in peace. What is meant by the repulse of the Amazons is not so clear, nor can it be so briefly stated. But I think those are at bottom right who regard the combats of Greeks and Amazons as a reflex in art of the early clashing of the primitive races of Asia and Greece with their female divinities, and the Aryan invaders from the North, the Greeks and their cousins the Phrygians and the Carians, with male deities and patriarchal government.

In the battles with Amazon and Centaur as represented in art, Theseus is conspicuous. In myth he is represented as aiding Peirithous in his resistance to the Centaurs when they attacked him and his bride in her Thessalian home; and as driving back from Attica the invading Amazons under their queen Hippolyta. We are unable to say how much actual history lies under these myths, whether the Athenians in the prehistoric age really took a large share in the wars against the aboriginal people of Greece and against the rude Thracian tribes of the North. But whether the myths embody actual history or not, they certainly embody ideal history. If they do not tell us what really took place, they tell us at least what was supposed to have taken place.

In the monumental art of Greece one is somewhat surfeited with the Centaur and the Amazon. To a modern eye these

compound and incongruous forms are unpleasing; and one greatly regrets that the Greeks did not aim more at variety. Probably Amazon and Centaur were perpetuated and stereotyped in Greek art for purely artistic reasons, because they offered the artist an unlimited number of defined and graceful problems in pose and composition. In time the love of artistic problem apart from meaning became the ruin of Greek art just as its literary parallel, the love of graceful phrase and elegant composition, became the bane of Greek history and philosophy. But let us go back beyond later developments to the splendid freshness of art in the fifth century, and we shall see that the subjects of these metopes had not yet lost their meaning, that they still spoke to the intellect as well as to the eye and the taste.

The fourth group of metopes takes us out of the realm of pure myth into something more nearly approaching history, and brings us to events which passed in Greece for actual and prosaic fact. They represent the taking of Troy,[1] the vengeance wrought by united Greece on the city which had sheltered him who had violated hospitality and carried away the wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta. As every reader of Herodotus knows, the Greeks looked on their successive contests with the powers of the Asiatic mainland as the acts in a drama, the drama of Hellene against barbarian. The final act of the drama, the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander, was in the far future when the Parthenon was built. But already Marathon and Salamis and Plataea had been won, and already the pride of Asia had been severely checked by the Athenian army and fleet. These victories were quite recent in the time of Pericles. In a sense the Parthenon might be said to be a memorial of them. Yet it is not them that

[1] It is disputed by some archaeologists whether this is the subject of any metopes, and the deplorable condition of the sculpture prevents us from being sure; but it is more than probable.

Pheidias chose to depict, but the earlier battles at Ilium. This is a very good illustration of the difference between the ancient and the modern point of view, and a good example of the passion for the type rather than the individual, which is so marked a feature of the best Greek art. We could scarcely imagine any way of commemorating a victory which did not give prominence to the generals to whom it was due. Yet, when one comes to think of it, that way of regarding matters is not really either artistic or pious. It is not artistic, because it concentrates attention on portraits which are not always really beautiful to contemplate. And it is not pious, because it attributes victory to the skill and valour of individuals rather than to the favour of Heaven and the destinies of races. Such, at least, is the Greek view.

These four series of metopes bring the history of Athens down to the time when the Parthenon was erected. And the frieze which ran like a wreath round the top of the temple carries on the history not into the future, but into the realm of cultus and religion. As the warlike activities of the Athenians occupy the metopes, so their peaceful activity finds full expression in the representation of the Panathenaic festival, the crown of the religious life of the city.

The intention followed in this glorious frieze — quite one of the most interesting of all works of ancient sculpture — is to be clearly traced. To begin with, there was, of course, no notion of any literal or naturalist copy of the actual scene; everything is typical. The most striking features of the Panathenaic procession are brought out, but in a thoroughly harmonious and artistic, a somewhat conventional, way. Some writers of the last generation, such as Karl Bötticher, were so much struck with this predominance of the idea over the fact, that they maintained the representation to be not of the actual procession, but of a partial rehearsal for it — a wonderful instance of learned blindness and want of understanding. In

the next place it has been pointed out that the animals brought for sacrifice are not the same in the north and the south parts of the frieze. In the north frieze they are cows and sheep, in the south frieze, cows only. Now cows were sacrificed on the occasion to Athena by the Athenians themselves; but the Athenian cleruchi settled in other lands sent more varied offerings — both oxen and sheep. Thus it would seem that the sculptor meant to insist on the participation of the colonists of Athens, as well as of those who dwelt at home, in the festival of Athena. His view takes in not Athens only, but the Athenian Empire. And in one group of figures he seems to go even beyond the dominions of the city. At the east end of the temple there is the group of seated deities, who await the approach of the procession. The festival belongs to Athena, but all the great deities of Greece are present as her guests, she being the hostess. I do not think it is fanciful to find in this grouping a reflection of the noblest of the ideas of Pericles, that of the unity of Greece. Athens was, in his view, to be dominant; but she was not to stand alone. Her relation to the other states of Greece was not to be the same as her relation to the hated barbarian. Beneath the shield of Athena all the cities of Greece were to find refuge, and in return they were to contribute to their patroness both tribute and honour. Could this idea be better expressed than by depicting all the chief deities of Greece as assembled at the festival of Athena, under her presidency, and waiting to receive the long array of the citizens of Athens and the colonists with their respective offerings?

Shall we say, then, that it is in the main religious ideas or patriotic ideas which are incorporated in the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon? This is a question which scarcely admits of an answer, for at Athens the cultus of Athena was so closely connected with the pride in and love of her city that the two could scarcely be separated. In celebrating the birth and victory of their goddess, the Athenians glorified their city;

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and in recording the exploits of their ancestors, they glorified Athena. Finally, in commemorating the Panathenaic festival, they put on an ideal level the relations of Athens and the Athenian Empire with the protecting deity. Patriotism and religion were but two phases of the same feelings and aspirations.

We may take a few more of the Greek dedications, which show a similar point of view. At Delphi the Athenians dedicated a great bronze group in memory of Marathon, and it is instructive to see of what figures it was composed. First and foremost were Apollo and Athena, representing the divine favour, without which the battle would never have been won. Next were portrayed the ancestral heroes of the Attic tribes, every tribe and every soldier being thus personified in a mythical representative. Finally, as a rare and exceptional honour, the general Miltiades was introduced.

A similar religious and idealizing tendency is equally conspicuous in literature. In the story as told by Herodotus, the gods play a considerable part, and when Aeschylus, who had himself fought at Salamis, determined to represent on the Athenian stage the victory of Greece over Persia, he uses every means to avoid drawing down the combat to a too realistic level. This was not easy, as the Persian ships and the Median chivalry were sights familiar to many of the audience. To represent them wrongly would be impossible, to represent them literally would not only overtax the very simple stage arrangements of the Attic theatre, but also transgress its main ideas. So Aeschylus lays the scene of his *Persians* in Persia itself, and the battle of Salamis is merely described by a messenger who arrives from the sea, and tells Atossa what has come to pass. But he does not dwell on the achievements of Greek heroes; he does not even name the leaders; his treatment of the subject is purely ethical. Aeschylus pays the victory of Salamis the great compliment of treating it in his play as if it had been

one of the divinely ordained triumphs of mythical heroes of the Greek race. To the modern individualist mind it seems that the honour ought to belong to one *man* or another *man;* but that is not the Greek view. However, at a later time, individualism won more way, so that when Lysander set up at Delphi the trophy which commemorated the taking of Athens, he did insert in it the portraits of his sea-captains, and Poseidon is introduced mainly that he may hand a wreath to the victorious general himself.

There is something of the religious interpretation of history to be traced even in vase-paintings. A very fine vase of Tarentum [1] (Fig. 108) represents the conflict of Asia and Europe in a rather remarkable way. The picture is a large one, and contains three rows of figures. In the lowest row Persians are represented, bringing contributions of money to a treasurer, who is recording the amounts in his tablets. In the middle row is King Darius in the midst of his council, who are evidently deliberating on grave affairs; and a person in Greek dress, probably Damaratus, the Spartan refugee, is addressing the king, behind whom stands one of the body-guard. The subject of his discourse is clearly the invasion of Greece. That invasion was to come; yet before it came it was doomed to failure; and this is set forth in the top line of the picture, where we see Hellas standing safe between her two great guardians, Zeus and Athena; though Asia, represented as a proud seated queen, sends against her a kind of fury, bearing two torches and having snakes in her hair, over whose head stands the inscription *Ara*, or Curse. Aphrodite and Artemis on the left complete the tale of gods, with Victory, who is beseeching the attention of Zeus to Hellas.

The other subject mentioned, the way in which in Greece the history of sculpture was parallel to the main course of his-

[1] *Mon. dell' Inst.*, Vol. IX., 51.

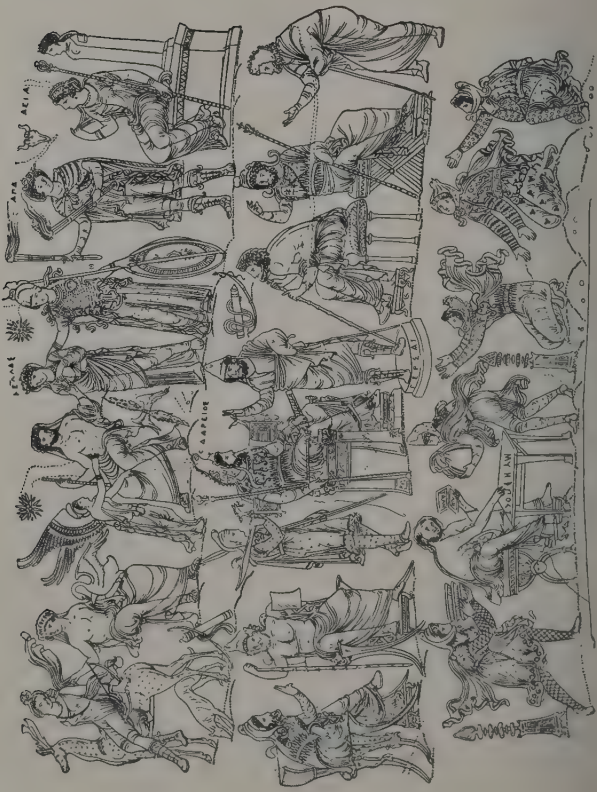


FIG. 108. — Tarentine vase.

tory, we cannot here consider. The connection between history and sculpture is not, as may be judged from what has been said already, so close as the connection between history and inscriptions, or history and coins. The course of the higher art does not throw light upon the definite facts of history; but it does accompany and throw light on the gradual changes in politics, in religion, and in custom which occurred as Greece ran her course. It is, however, impossible here to go further into this parallelism; I must refer the reader to the histories of Greek art and Greek sculpture, which deal with the matter in detail.

CHAPTER XX

COINS IN RELATION TO HISTORY

So far as we have gone at present Greek art would seem to have very much to do with ideas, and but little with facts of history. Its message to us would seem to be concerned rather with the *vivification* than with the *verification* of the facts of Greek life. It rather displays to us the background against which the Greek race acted out its drama, than the plot of the drama itself. To correct what may perhaps be the excess of this impression, we will devote the present chapter to a brief consideration of the place taken in archaeology by coins.

The study of coins, numismatics, has sometimes been termed the Grammar of Greek Art. By this it is meant that of all classes of Greek remains coins are the most trustworthy, give us the most precise information, introduce us to the greatest variety of facts. As regards epigraphy, art, religion, commerce, they are monuments of the first importance. Their date and locality can be determined with greater precision than those of any other classes of remains, except the remains of buildings found *in situ*. Thus coins furnish, if not exactly a grammar, at least a valuable epitome or index of Greek art. Work upon them is perhaps the best possible introduction to archaeology. The student who takes this road avoids areas of controversy; he trains his eyes by the contemplation of works of unquestioned genuineness and beauty; he learns to think by periods and by districts. It is only practical difficulties, arising from the small size of coins and the great value of fine specimens,

which prevent the study of numismatics from lying at the root of archaeological training.

Detailed numismatic studies can only be carried on when there is free access to one of the large collections of Greek coins, such as exist in the great national museums of Europe. It is this inaccessibility of the material for study which long delayed the development of numismatics as a branch of archaeology, and still causes this field to be less highly cultivated than others. For example, much more light than has hitherto been discovered in the study of coins might be brought to bear upon the detailed history of ancient commerce. The monetary standards on which the coins of cities were at any period issued are at once an indication of the commercial sphere to which those cities belonged. For example, about 409 B.C. the cities of the island of Rhodes combined to found the city of Rhodes, which almost immediately began greatly to flourish, and to extend its commerce along the shores of Asia. The coins of the new city were almost from the first issued on a special distinctive standard; and when we find that standard, in the early part of the fourth century, spreading not only to cities of the southern coast of Asia Minor, but farther, as far as the Thracian coast, we may well find in it a witness to the rapid spread of Rhodian commerce in the great gap left by the fall of Athens.

The precision of the information given us by coins, and their complete freedom from modern restoration, admirably fit them to become the basis of various lines of archaeological study. It will be found that through the coins of each district of the Greek world there runs something of common character. The coins of the Greek cities of southern Italy are not to be confused with those of the Doric and Chalcidian cities of Sicily; but Italian and Sicilian coins stand together as a species in comparison with the coins of northern Greece, which again present a marked contrast to the money of the cities of the

Asiatic coast. It is true that when a great school of sculpture or painting arises in a city, it usually reaches beyond a mere local character to one which is national or cosmopolitan; but, nevertheless, local traditions and conditions tell upon it. Thus a general geographical arrangement of characters in art, based upon the testimony of coins, is a good preliminary study to work upon sculpture. When Professor Brunn produced his noted theory of a North Greek School of Art, the most trustworthy section of his evidence was the numismatic. And in a letter to the writer of this book he stated his opinion that the question of the date and extent of the archaizing tendency in later Greek art would be finally settled only by an appeal to coins.

In the special study of ancient portraiture, a branch of archaeology which has long been neglected, but is now rapidly returning into favour, the most trustworthy evidence is that of coins. Coins give us portraits of nearly all the kings and rulers of Asia, Greece, and Rome, from the time of Alexander the Great onwards. And in the Roman age it was no uncommon thing to place on coins the figure or the head of any citizen who had in past time brought renown to his city.

The consideration of coins in relation to commerce, to religion, to epigraphy, does not enter into the scope of this work. Coins regarded as works of art follow in their designs those laws of balance and symmetry, of relief and perspective, of which I have spoken in previous chapters. Thus considered, they are works in medium relief, of small size and circular form. Their designs, when consisting not of a head but of figures, are much like those of the metopes of temples, but even simpler. But the fact to which I propose now to call attention is that every important city in Greece, and many towns which were unimportant, issued during most of their autonomous existence series of coins, bearing the arms of the state as type, series which run strictly parallel to the political

history of the state, reflecting its changes, rising with its rise, and disappearing at its fall. Thus we have a numismatic record of Greek history, sometimes far more complete in detail than the history recorded by writers, and possessing the great advantage of consisting wholly of objects, visible to the eye, to be weighed by the hand, and ready on close investigation to furnish facts, the validity of which can scarcely be denied.

In the Introduction to a work on Greek coins,[1] I have tried to set forth the method whereby it is possible to range the coins of cities in series running parallel to the fortunes of those cities. Two processes have to be gone through. First, it is necessary to arrange the whole of a series in order of date, by the aid of our knowledge of the forms of letters used in the inscriptions, our perception of style in art, our knowledge of weights and of fabric, not neglecting such more detailed evidence as may be furnished by the discovery of hoards, observation of restriking of one type over another, and the like. In the second place, we turn to the recorded history of our city, and endeavour to find lines of evidence, the more exact and objective the better, connecting particular issues of coins with particular historic events, a military success, an alliance, the accession of a ruler, the introduction of a fresh cultus of some deity, and so forth. Before this can be done, the ancient historians must of course be read with keen and critical eyes. The historian only gives us an opinion, which may be true or false, but in either case is certain to be largely moulded by his own subjective views, his sense of style, his political prepossessions, his chances of obtaining good information.

It will be clear that this process is a cumulative one. The beginner will be apt to find in coins all kinds of historic coincidences and allusions which do not exist. But every time an

[1] *The Types of Greek Coins*, 1883, p. 56.

arrangement is made on really good evidence, it will shed light on the successive issues of coins of all cities in the same district or the same political circle; and thus by degrees the coinage of city after city will fall into order and sequence.

One may fairly say that the chronological classification of Greek coins, if we except certain districts, has now been carried out to a generally recognized conclusion. A summary of the results will be found in Dr. Head's *Historia Numorum*.[1] But as recently as 1870 the process had scarcely been begun, and the same writer's *Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse*, which appeared in 1874, was the first consecutive and satisfactory attempt at coördinating the history of a Greek city with its coins. To the English-speaking student several monographs of this kind are accessible in his own language,[2] numismatics being the only branch of classical archaeology which can be studied beyond the rudiments without the use of books other than English.

I will cite a few examples of coins, the date of which can be fixed, and which thus serve as landmarks in the coinage of the cities to which they belong.

When Gelon of Syracuse won in 480 his great victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, the defeated enemy was able to obtain tolerable terms of peace through the intercession of Damarete, wife of Gelon, and in gratitude presented to her a hundred talents of gold; such at least is the story of Diodorus Siculus.[3] From the proceeds were issued silver coins of the weight of ten Attic drachms, that is, as we know, about six hundred and seventy-five grains. Now we have surviving a few coins of Syracuse of archaic style and of this very unusual size

[1] Oxford, 1887. A new edition in 1911.

[2] I may name the following, which originally appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*: B. V. Head, *Coins of Boeotia, Coins of Ephesus;* P. Gardner, *Sicilian Studies, Coins of Elis, Coins of Samos;* A. J. Evans, *Syracusan Medallions, Horsemen of Tarentum.* Mr. G. F. Hill's *Coins of Ancient Sicily* is a good conspectus.

[3] XI., 26.

and weight; and there can be scarcely any doubt that they are the very pieces mentioned by Diodorus and Julius Pollux as Damareteia (Fig. 109). We can assign them unhesitatingly to 479-8 B.C. Every archaeologist will appreciate the advantage of being able to assert that all coins of Syracuse of more archaic

FIG. 109. — Damareteion.

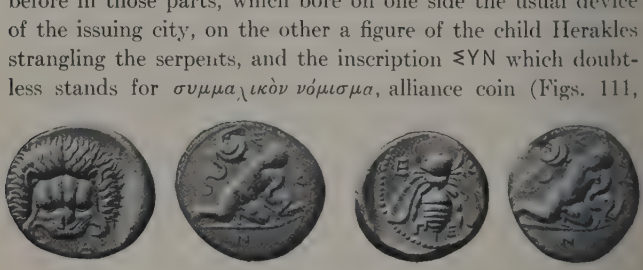
style than the Damareteion were struck before 479 B.C. and pieces of later style after that date. And since coins of closely similar style, though not of the same weight, make their appearance at Leontini, the coinage of that city also can be divided into two groups by a line of rigid date.

To take another example. When Dion, the disciple of Plato, was planning his fateful expedition against Dionysius of Syracuse in 357 B.C., he made his headquarters in the island of Zacynthus, there collected troops, and thence sailed against Syracuse. We have coins struck at Zacynthus, as inscription and types abundantly prove (Fig. 110), and belonging to about the middle of the fourth century B.C., which are stamped also with the name of Dion. We may fairly suppose that he struck them for the payment of his mercenaries, many of whom were Zacynthians. Here again

FIG. 110. — Dion coin.

we have a valuable fixed date in the coinage of a city. And the types used by Dion, the head of Apollo and the Delphic tripod, correspond to the assertion of Plutarch, that before Dion left the island he made splendid sacrifices to Apollo, the patron god of Zacynthus, thus placing himself under his special protection.

Sometimes an event which is barely mentioned by ancient historians is written large in the coinage. An often cited, but very characteristic, example is to be found in the alliance formed by certain of the cities of Asia against Sparta just after the victory of Conon at Cnidus. Xenophon and Diodorus[1] tell us that after the battle of Cnidus many of the cities of Asia expelled their Spartan governors and declared themselves independent. But Xenophon and Diodorus give us scanty details. M. Waddington first pointed out that we can prove from coins that certain cities, including Ephesus, Rhodes, Cnidus, and Samos, entered into a definite anti-Laconian compact. All these cities issued coins of uniform weight, a weight not in use before in those parts, which bore on one side the usual device of the issuing city, on the other a figure of the child Herakles strangling the serpents, and the inscription ΣΥΝ which doubtless stands for *συμμαχικὸν νόμισμα*, alliance coin (Figs. 111,



111. 112.

FIGS. 111, 112. — Coins of Samos and Ephesus.

112). The uniformity of these coins proves that they were the result of a convention, their weight that a commercial understanding was involved. The type, which is taken from the

[1] Xenophon, *Hist.*, IV., 8, 1; Diodorus, XIV., 83.

coins of Thebes, has clearly a political purpose, showing that the cities ranged themselves on the side of the greatest enemy of the Spartan domination, Thebes. The type without the inscription is copied by other cities which do not seem to have belonged to the alliance, but only desired to express the same anti-Spartan tendency, such cities as Lampsacus, and even the distant Zacynthus.

Any one can see how such facts as these add colour and warmth to the dry narratives of Xenophon and Diodorus. It is true that at present it would not be easy to put together many instances so clear and so striking. But much will be done by closer study. Sir A. Evans, in his *Horsemen of Tarentum*, has succeeded in some cases with greater, in some with lesser, probability in emphasizing by the evidence of coins all the chief events of the history of Tarentum. Equally minute and exact work on other series of coins would yield a like harvest. Every gold and silver coin issued by Greek cities was struck on a particular standard. The question why the standard was chosen may sometimes be easily answered, but very often the reasons are by no means obvious, and a search into them will bring to light fresh and unexpected relations of a political or commercial kind between various Greek states. Similarly the reason for which the patronage of a coinage was assigned to one deity rather than another is often far to seek; it is by no means always the most prominent among the cults of a city which receives most recognition on its coins.

Nevertheless, as in other branches of Greek art, so in this, it is easy to misread the testimony of the monuments. A few observations on this subject may be useful.

We must never lose sight of the psychological side of ancient numismatics, nor overlook the purpose for which coins were struck and issued. This purpose was, at least in the autonomous age of Greece, primarily commercial; coins were struck

as a measure of value and a medium of exchange. This main intention was crossed by many others, acting in some cases consciously and in some unconsciously. The desire to procure and to recognize the help of the gods in all city affairs, the refusal to tolerate what was ugly or unmeaning, the love of artistic variety, a desire to indicate who was responsible for the weight and quality of the money, these and other motives conditioned the production of coins; but the main questions were as to their reception in the markets of home and of other cities, whether they would be accepted by correspondents or mercenaries or tax gatherers. Only thus can we account for such facts as that Athens through all her history issued coins bearing an archaic or unsatisfactory head of her guardian goddess, and that Sicyon adhered always to the ugly and trivial type of the chimaera. But the failure of the most artistic cities to produce a beautiful coinage is made up for by the success in this matter of Tarentum and Syracuse, Cyzicus and Lampsacus, and many other places, some of which, like Terina and Caulonia, are scarcely mentioned by historians.

Archaeologists have in the past often been misled in dealing with numismatic testimony through underestimating the spontaneous vitality of Greek art. They have often been unable to imagine that when great sculptors in a city were setting up some world-famed statue, the die-cutter could fail, in treating the same theme, to be influenced by their work. It is very natural to expect to find, on the coins of Elis of the middle of the fifth century, a reflex of the statue of the Olympian Zeus by Pheidias, and on the coins of Rhegium of the same date to look for traces of the style of the sculptor Pythagoras. But the expectation is not usually justified. Greek art was a thing so sensitive to circumstance, so calculated in regard to conditions of space and purpose, that an artist who made the die of a coin would think primarily of the coin, and of the subject as adapted to the shape and purpose of the coin. Besides this,

the men who worked upon coins and gems probably belonged to families with whom such work was hereditary, and not to the same social class as the great sculptors. Thus as a rule the sculptor, the vase-painter, and the die-engraver pursue each his own course independently. In the learned Hellenistic age, which was beginning to dwell on the past, and which cherished temples and their contents as moderns cherish cathedrals of the Middle Ages, there is more copying of great statues. For example, the coins of Messene reproduce the statue of Zeus by Ageladas, and the coins of Epidaurus, the gold and ivory statue of Asklepios by Thrasymedes of Paros. But even in such cases as these, what we have is rather a translation than a copy; attitude is preserved rather than style or character.

In Roman times, and especially in the learned and art-loving age of the Antonines, we find upon the coins of Greek cities a large number of intentional and tolerably faithful copies of the monuments of the great age, temples, statues, and the like,[1] which copies, small as they are, and governed by certain conventions which require to be carefully considered, often serve to identify existing works of art, or give us useful information as to details of such as are lost. Some archaeologists, especially in recent years, have been disposed to undervalue this source of knowledge, the reason being that they are not well enough acquainted with the grammar of Greek coin-types, and fall into the error, of which I have more than once spoken, of comparing the copy directly with the original without abstracting the modifications which the copyist would as a matter of style be certain to make.

It is a noteworthy fact that here, at the very end of the history of Greek art, we come again to the same phenomena which impressed us in dealing with its origin. Here again it is not a transcript which the artist makes of the building or the statue

[1] See Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, Quaritch, 1887, and Mr. Frazer's *Pausanias*, passim.

which he would copy, but a translation based on an impression in the memory. As to fact, he is careless; he will reduce the number of pillars in a temple, or if he has a reason, alter its form; he will open it out in front to show the statue within; he will give us what he thinks important, and not what he thinks unimportant. In the same way he will modify the pose of a statue freely, or raise the hand to display the attribute; he will not be exact, but he will freely represent what seem to him the leading features of the work. With this curious point of contact between archaic and Roman Greece we may fittingly conclude this chapter.

CHAPTER XXI

NATURALISM AND IDEALISM IN GREEK ART

GREEK art, like Greek poetry and philosophy and geometry, seems constructed with extreme simplicity, when compared with the more complicated productions of modern Europe; herein lies its main attractiveness, and its educational value. It exhibits the working of a race, the civilization of which was very simple and harmonious, of a race gifted by nature with the finest aesthetic and intellectual qualities, so that to the end of time the Greeks will stand out against the background of ancient history as a natural aristocracy, and always furnish us with models which in their own way, and within the limits which they acknowledge, will be unsurpassed. Modern life is more ambitious and more complicated; we have learned the ways of progress as the Greeks never learned them, so that to us in many respects they seem to be like children. But each man as he grows up passes through the various stages of culture which lie behind us, and to a certain stage in growth and education the teaching of Greece is of unequalled value. And besides, the wonderful natural endowments of the Hellenic race were such that the most cultivated of modern minds, a Goethe, a Matthew Arnold, a Sainte-Beuve, will to the end find in Greek literature and art a freshness, symmetry, and charm which may be sought in vain elsewhere.

Matthew Arnold, with his usual insight, has observed that it is in sense and in intellect that the Greek is supreme. The eyes and ears of the ordinary Greek man may not have been so acute in observing minute or distant detail as the senses of the savage, whose whole living depends upon their efficiency.

But in delicacy of aesthetic perception, of the relations of parts to a whole, of the value of a curve, of the suitability of a musical note, they excelled beyond compare. And in sheer intelligence, in logical power, and a perception of the relation of means to ends, the Greeks are found to be supreme. It was mainly through clearness and taste that literature, philosophy, sculpture, painting, rose among them to a level not merely beyond comparison with that attained by ancient peoples, but to a height in its own way which has scarcely been reached by the most gifted of modern races.

I have had occasion constantly in these pages to insist on the ideality of Greek art. Modern writers sometimes speak of the realism of works of the school of Lysippus or of Pergamene statues. They even speak of naturalism in connection with such earlier works as the Pediments of Olympia. The reader must not suppose that this realism is like that which we find in some modern schools. To make this clear I must at some length examine the meaning of the terms *realist* and *idealist*.[1]

The great and outstanding feature of Greek art, as of all the productions of the Greek genius, is humanism. It is the great merit of the Greeks first to have felt and expressed the dignity and nobleness of human nature, and to have studied in that light all the powers and faculties of man, with a view to conforming to what is fixed and permanent in them, and to developing in them what is capable of improvement. In literature we notice this from the first. The interest and beauty of the Homeric poems is imperishable. They appeal to every one who has any power of appreciation by their intense humanity, their love of human beauty and prowess, their touches of pathos and of sadness. The charming tales of Herodotus never pall upon us because they also are fragments of the epic of

[1] A lucid and excellent discussion of this subject will be found in three essays by J. A. Symonds, *Essays Speculative and Suggestive*, third edition, 1907, pp. 108–155.

human life; they make us feel that all the persons of whom he speaks were flesh of our flesh and spirit of our spirit. How different they are from the monotonous chronicles of the kings of Egypt and Assyria! As regards the mere statement of what happened, the chronicles may be equally accurate, but they fail in human interest. The lyric and dramatic poetry of Greece carries on the tradition, by recording what men and women really felt and cared about; how they were carried out of themselves by a tide of love or of desire of fame, how they shuddered under the blows of fate, and how they regarded the end which comes to all mortals.

Homer and Herodotus represent chiefly the Ionian spirit in literature, with its joyous freedom of life, its curiosity, its keen powers of observation and its intense love of enjoyment. But there are other elements in these writers which are as necessary to a great literature as is keen aesthetic feeling. There is also in them a love of measure and of balance, a delight in clearly outlined form. The epics of most peoples run on in a limpid stream without plan or serious meaning; tale follows tale and exploit exploit without beginning, middle, or end. But the great epics of the fall of Ilium and the Persian invasion of Greece are informed by purpose, put together on a plan, great creations. When at the beginning of the fifth century Greece had to pass through the fire, and came out strengthened and ennobled, we find in the rising Attic literature a more chastened spirit. The puritanism, if we may so call it, of the Dorians curbs the Ionian levity. In everything, manners, dress, religion, art, there is a reaction towards what was severe and measured.

The Attic writers not only loved men but they studied them with deep attention. Thucydides tried to work out the lines of action of human nature working in the field of politics. Demosthenes in his speeches tries to persuade by playing upon all the qualities of his audience, their compassion for misfortune,

their indignation against violence and injustice, their respect for law and order. No doubt in the great success of oratory in the fourth century we see the coming in of baser tendencies, the desire to use the facts of human nature for doubtful purposes, the preference of the plausible to the true, which in the long run did much to bring about the downfall of Greece. Nothing is so bad as the corruption of what is best.

With Socrates the Greek spirit turned thoughtfully and deliberately from what is without to what is within, from nature to man and society. The vague speculations of the Ionian philosophers as to the origin and composition of the visible universe were abandoned as leading to little of real value. Instead, Socrates turned the attention of his contemporaries to things which really concerned life, the nature of virtue and of justice, the best form of constitution for the state and for the individual, who was a small model of the state. With cunning and remorseless hand he probed all the current views of happiness and misery, of good and evil. He showed how goodness could be encouraged until it became a habit; how the intellect was given to man in order that he should attain the better and avoid the worse. He and the philosophic sects, which all went back to him as founder, built up magnificent conceptions of a constitution of the universe in which man as a responsible and moral being stood grandly in the foreground.

Yet this concentration of man on himself did not stand in the way of careful observation of nature. Indeed it encouraged the study of a very important part of nature, the human body. And it fostered an interest in whatever had a close relation to human life. It did draw men away from the old daemonic beliefs as to the supernatural. And no doubt for a time it checked the impartial study of natural fact, which only revived in the Hellenistic age, when man had become a less noble object of observation. But that it gave far more than it lost no student of ancient history could doubt.

A great work of the eventide of ancient literature, the *Lives* of Plutarch, sums up for us much of what the ancient world has of permanent interest for the modern. Here exalted types of human nature are drawn out, full of faults and failings it is true, no impeccable saints, but grand figures on a large scale, models of ambition, of courage, of patriotism, coloured with the brilliant hues of a southern sky. The Shakespearean gallery of characters owes a great debt to Plutarch. Next to the Bible, and the history of one's own country, one might place the *Lives* in value for the formation of character in youth. If Plutarch fall into neglect, it will not be long before the Bible is also left in the background, and the world will have set aside the richest and most delightful of the lessons learned in the course of historic experience.

The same tendencies which inspire Greek history and literature are also to be traced in Greek art.

Though painting and sculpture be concerned with nature, with what the eyes see and the hands feel, yet they cannot be content with mere slavish imitation. In the case of painting this is obvious, since man has two eyes and the canvas is a flat surface, since colour can never render literally the effects of light, and so forth. In the case of sculpture it is less clear, since sculpture does render shape exactly. But sculpture which only copies mechanically the ordinary types of nature is so completely uninteresting that it has no reason for existing. Of such sculpture the best results would be such as one sees at a waxworks exhibition. A photograph will render a scene of nature or an animal or man more precisely than any painter. A cast from nature will be more correct in detail than any sculpture.

If sculpture and painting were merely mimetic arts, as the man in the street often supposes them to be, they would be completely outclassed by nature herself. It is said of a late Shah of Persia that he chose for purchase at an exhibition a

painting of an ass, but was indignant at the price asked for it, when he could buy a real ass for the tenth part of the money. If painting were mere imitation, he would be right. Painter and sculptor in return for what they lose in the representation of life are bound to put in something of value. What they insert must be something human and subjective. They must manage to touch the imagination and emotion of the beholder. The purchaser values a picture because he can hang it in his home, and as often as he looks at it, it will arouse in some measure the same emotions with which he first saw it.

This subjective and human element the painter contributes from his own personality. He must have felt the emotion which he rouses in others. It is his style, his personal way of looking at things, which gives interest to his works.

I have already shown to what extent works of early Greek art, like all works of primitive art, are based on memory and an imaginative reconstruction. As art matures, nature is studied more and more closely, and there is a continual approximation of the work of art to the objective facts of nature. But the subjective element which comes into art at the first never leaves it. All art has in it much of the humanist element, which in the case of any great art becomes an ideal element.

Naturalism or realism is an attempt to mimic the details of visible things. This is an attempt which lies very much in the way of a modern artist. Of the anatomist he learns the forms, not of the outward appearance of man, but of the inner structure underlying that appearance. From photography he learns the precise lines of natural objects, and carries them with him into his studio. Instantaneous photography reveals the intimate ways of motion so swift that observation cannot follow it. So he is tempted to spend his life in struggling to learn more and more of the details of nature, in order that he may embody them in his art. Realism in art has in many schools been carried to a great length. Some careful study of natural fact

is necessary as a basis for any great school of art. The Assyrians carefully studied the lion and the wild horse, the Greeks made most exact study of the human body in all motions and poses, though without at first giving attention to anatomy. The Japanese observe plant life, and some forms of animal life, with astonishing minuteness and accuracy. The artists of the early Renascence were also minute in their observation of plants, like the Preraphaelites of the last century. But realism cannot be carried beyond a certain point, because it then ceases to produce anything of interest, and a too precise study of facts brings with it dangers of its own. The anatomist is apt to dull his sense of beauty and deformity. If an artist copies the motion of his horses from Muybridge's instantaneous photographs, he only produces attitudes which in nature the eye never sees.

Now what is most interesting to man is man himself. What is accurate to nature leaves the mind unimpressed and the heart cold, unless there shine through it something which is in relation to human life and activity. Hence there is also a tendency in modern days to drift towards the other extreme, to produce something pleasing or amusing without any real authority in the world of fact. There seems no limit to the variety of efforts made by artists to interpret visible things in a way of their own, or frankly to set at naught the testimony of the senses. Every man, so to speak, fights for his own hand, often very effectively, but often also to a result which is contrary to sense and sanity.[1]

The simplicity and regularity of Greek art saved it from both of these extremes. The Greek artist was not tempted into eccentricity and sensational attempts, because his public would not have tolerated such attempts. And on the other hand, naturalism, in the sense of a complete sub-

[1] I need do no more than refer to the astounding aberrations of the Impressionists, recently exhibited in London.

ordination to the visible, was never a tendency of Greek art. It is true that Greek men had a very keen sense of sight. And it is true that some later statues, such as the fighter of Agasias in the Louvre, show a minute and accurate study of the anatomy and actions of the human body. But such works belong to the decline of sculpture; and moreover this study of the actual does not pass beyond man to his surroundings, for it was of the essence of the Greek genius to think far more of man than of non-human objects. Socrates indelibly imprinted this character upon Greek philosophy; it deeply marks the poetry of Homer, the history of Herodotus, even the pastoral poetry of Theocritus. And it marks Greek art from first to last; it is conspicuous even in the Hellenistic days, when man's outlook upon nature grew much wider.

Thus in all works of imitative or mimetic art, of painting and sculpture, there are necessarily two elements, that contributed by the object portrayed, and that contributed by the portraying artist. We may call these elements by various names. We may call the share contributed by the object naturalism or realism, and the part contributed by the artist in its lower forms subjectivity or impressionism, and in its higher form idealism, or the grand style.

Impressionism is scarcely to be found in Greek art, though, according to Wickhoff, it may be observed in Roman art of the Flavian age. The Greeks saw things clearly, and they saw them in their wholeness, whence they were not disposed to appreciate mere aspects of them. Moreover, their whole art was in character statuesque; and sculpture with its slow and laborious procedure gives far less opportunity to the impressionist. The objects pursued by such a sculptor as Rodin would certainly have seemed to them unsuited to the genius of sculpture.

Idealism takes its start from the human mind, as naturalism starts from the fact of nature. But the process which leads to idealism may be stunted, in which case it only reaches conven-

tion. In states of society which are unprogressive, the artist is content to render natural appearance according to certain recognized rules. He thinks that if he tries to copy nature more closely he will give himself much trouble, and the result will probably be less intelligible. Certain kinds of scenes, especially scenes of the chase, of fighting or of feasting, appeal to the emotions of his patrons, and he knows how to arouse those emotions in the recognized way. Hence endless repetitions, numberless tales told in the usual way, deities always represented in the same fashion, and their worshippers merely lay figures. Such essentially are the arts of Babylon and of Egypt,[1] though in them occasionally true artistic effort breaks through the crust of convention.

Already in the prehistoric art of Crete and of Mycenae we find more variety and more liberty. We see already the beginnings of that restless search into nature, and the desire to bring before the beholder life as it was lived at the time which was a valuable element in Greek art. One feels that if the civilization of Mycenae had not met with a violent end, the race might have evolved such an art as one finds in Japan, an art fond of decorative forms, and also fond of giving lifelike views of plants and animals and men. But we do not find in Mycenaean art that human and ideal element which at a later time made the fortune of Greek art.

It is the glory of Greek art that it is not only humanist, but also ideal. It not only sets forth nature as man sees it, but it is ever trying to pass beyond the appearance to the life behind. Nature, from our human point of view, seems seldom wholly to succeed. The artist who idealizes tries, so to speak, to surprise her secret, and to carry out her purpose better than she carries it out herself. In Platonic language he may be said to contem-

[1] I am of course aware that the archaic art of Egypt is not devoid of fidelity to nature and of human interest; but later it is lost in convention, except in the case of mural paintings.

plate the divine idea which is but partly embodied in the object of sense, and to portray it in his work. In Aristotelian language he may be said while making men like men to depict them as better than they are. He looks on his subjects at once with the eyes of sense which sees them as they are, and with the eyes of imagination which transforms them and places them on a higher plane.

There are few men who would find life even tolerable, unless they had something of this idealizing faculty. "We live by admiration, hope, and love." The object of this admiration may be a church, it may be one's country, it may be an individual, but one must, in Emerson's phrase, have some star to which one can hitch one's wagon. The great peoples of the past have all had some ideal, by which they have been raised above their fellows. The Jews were raised by their religion, the Romans by their patriotism and love of order, the Greeks by their desire of the beautiful.

The phrase "ideal art" is apt in modern days to raise a prejudice. For we are accustomed to confuse ideal art with its inferior counterfeit, the art which is conventional and unreal. The eighteenth century was a time when they talked much of ideal art, and practised a stiff conventional style far removed from nature, which was supposed to be classical, but was a thousands miles removed from the art of Greece. In literature the romantic movement was a revolt against the dominance of classical tradition. The English Preraphaelite art of half a century ago was a laborious attempt to return to nature from the stiff forms into which the art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had driven painting. It is to be observed that almost all progressive schools of art in the past have professed to go back from what is conventional to nature. Eupompus the Greek painter advised Lysippus to follow no master but nature, and the advice has since been taken by a hundred founders of schools. They have been to some extent victims of illusion.

For nature cannot be merely followed, she must be interpreted. And in the interpretation an artist must introduce what is human and subjective, however unconscious he may be of so doing. He may with purpose avoid the current conventions, but he must needs substitute for them ways of his own, which will be conventions to the next generation. Ideal art degenerates into convention, as impressionist art ends in chaos, and naturalist art tends to ugliness. Yet so long as man is man, and the world about us must be apprehended by human senses and touched with human passions, so long there must be a human element in all art. In fact the most blankly realist art which fails to perish through want of human interest has some ideal element in it. It has been well pointed out that not only does each generation interpret for itself nature and humanity in a somewhat different manner, but that even copies made in different periods and schools of the very same work of art vary greatly. If we trace a well-known cathedral spire in a variety of drawings, we shall find that even so simple a work as a spire can be variously interpreted. And every archaeologist knows that forgeries or imitations of ancient statues or coins greatly vary in character and type; the imitations of the Renascence are very different from those of the seventeenth century, and those of modern days again differ.

The idealism of Greece differed from that of modern times partly because its range of ideas was far narrower and its methods more simple, partly because it was so frankly humanist. But there is also another difference which is striking. Idealism in Greece is not individual, but social; it belongs to the nation, the city, or the school, rather than to this or that artist. It is, in fact, impossible for any artist to escape the results of his training and his race. However fully resolved he may be to represent precisely what he sees, yet he has to see with eyes which accept knowingly or unconsciously a number of conventions and customs which are the results of the history of

art in the past, and which condition the art of the present. But an artist may take a line of individualism. He may be content with the endeavour to express *himself* on canvas or in bronze, to fully embody his own impressions and his own way of regarding things. In such a case he cannot wholly cut himself off from the stream of artistic activity, but he may drift on one side towards individual genius, on the other towards a petty egotism. In any case he will tend towards idiosyncrasy and artistic chaos. With such phenomena we are quite familiar in modern days. But they are almost wholly absent from Greek art. The proof is that in judging of Greek statues it is incomparably easier to assign to them a date and a school than to attribute them to an individual sculptor.

Greek art is thus not merely ideal, but generically ideal. It not only seeks beauty, but it is engaged in a social search for beauty, and any form of beauty recognized by an artist becomes at once a part of the common stock. Naturally, on similar principles, in portraying individuals it seeks below the surface of the person for what is generic of the race, what is permanent rather than temporary, what is essential rather than accidental. Thus it is in early times more occupied with the production of types than of portraits; and even the portraits of later Greek art have in them much of the type. Ideals may be supplied to art by a small school or society, or by a race and country. Or they may come from a deeper source still, human nature, or the subconscious life which lies at the roots of human nature. If the ideals are narrow and local, the art works only for a clique or coterie. If they are broad and thoroughly human, the art works for a nation, or for the whole human race.

That Greek art at its best succeeded in combining accuracy to nature with an ideal which surpassed nature may be best shown by considering the effect of Greek masterpieces in modern days. When the marbles of the Parthenon were brought to England, they at once produced in the world of artists a re-

markable wave of influence. Dannecker the sculptor observed that the pedimental figures seemed as if moulded from nature; yet such nature he had never seen. Haydon the painter has left us a most vivid account of the effects the sculpture produced on him.[1]

"The first thing I fixed my eyes on was the wrist of a figure in one of the female groups, in which were visible, though in a feminine form, the radius and the ulna. I was astonished, for I had never seen them hinted at in any female wrist in the antique. I darted my eye to the elbow, and saw the outer condyle visibly affecting the shape as in nature. I saw that the arm was in repose, and the soft parts in relaxation. That combination of nature and idea which I had felt was so much wanting for high art was here displayed to midday conviction. My heart beat! If I had seen nothing else, I had beheld enough to keep me to nature for the rest of my life. But when I turned to the Theseus and saw that every form was altered by action or repose — when I saw that the two sides of his back varied, one side stretched from the shoulder-blade being pulled forwards, and the other side compressed from the shoulder-blade being pushed close to the spine as he rested on his elbow, ... when I saw in fact the most heroic style combined with all the essential detail of actual life, the thing was done at once and forever. . . . I felt as if a divine truth had blazed inwardly on my mind, and I knew that the marbles would at last rouse the art of Europe from its slumbers in the darkness."

Such was the working of the most ideal Greek art on the mind of Haydon. We must remember that in his time a conventional "grand style" prevailed, which had removed far from nature, and thus it was the faithfulness to nature in the Parthenon figures which especially impressed him. Many of us probably now err in the other direction, regarding the rendering of nature as the end-all in art; so that it is the complementary

[1] Quoted by J. A. Symonds, *Essays Speculative and Suggestive*, p. 122.

lesson which we have to learn from the Greek masterpieces. Haydon's knowledge of ancient sculpture was but slight. In works of the Pergamene school, and even the Apoxyomenos, he would have found even greater faithfulness to natural detail than in the Parthenon figures. What in fact impressed Haydon was the vast superiority of great Greek originals to the ordinary Roman copy. The value of these originals to us is especially that they give us a noble embodiment of the Greek spirit.

The Greeks, by the universal confession of artists and students of art, bore a message not only to their own time and country, but to all men in all ages. Their art was classical, that is, conformed to what is permanent and above criticism in human life. It is for this reason that it must hold an important place in education, the main object of which is, or should be, to enable the learner to discern between good and evil. Thus all ages must owe a debt to Greece for the simple beauty, the sanity, the healthfulness of the ideal element which she introduced into art, making it for the first time in history a true exponent of the human spirit.

INDEX

Aegina, Pediments of, 103, 114, 118, 122, 130, 138, 161.
Aeschylus, 286 seq., 290 seq., 320.
Agasias, 342.
Alcamenes, 188.
Alcibiades as type, 172.
Alexander, Portraits of, 172, 175 seq.; mosaic of, 207; on Sidon Sarcophagus, 313.
Alexandria, Influence of, 144.
Amelung, W., 164.
Amphora, The, 219.
Anatomy, Study of, by artists, 144, 342.
Ancestor-worship, its influence on art, 55 seq.
Antenor, 10, 151, 183.
Antigonus of Carystus, 26.
Antisthenes, 172, 174.
Apelles, 31, 181 seq., 203.
Aphrodite (Cnidian) of Praxiteles, 30.
Apoxyomenos, The, 138, 348.
Apollodorus, 203.
Archermus, 114.
Argos, Art of, 23, 27, 116, 140.
Aristion, Relief of, 185.
Aristogeiton, Portrait of, 109, 287.
Aristophanes, 200.
Aristotle on art, 17 seq., 92, 344.
Arndt, P., 175.
Arnold, Matthew, on the Greeks, 335.
Artemis of Ephesus, 91, 159; Greek types, 92.
Aspasia, 177.
Athena, Statues of, 24, 31, 87, 111; on vase, 202, 298 seq.
Athenaeus on early sculpture, 19.
Athens (see also Parthenon), Tombs of, 60 seq.; archaic art of, 131 seq., 169, 178, 185, 188; vases from, 213 seq., 285, 307, 314 seq.; coinage of, 332.
Athletics in relation to Greek art, 16, 19, 75 seq.
Bacchylides, 285.
Baldwin Brown, 151.
Basilicata, Vase of the, 305, 306.
Bathycles, 29.
Benndorf, O., 185, 193, 198.
Black-figured vases, 214 seq.
Bötticher, K., 318.
Boutmy, E., 34, 41, 48.
Bronze, Sculpture in, 111 seq.
Brücke, E., 79, 171.
Brunn, H., quoted, 22, 72, 130, 227, 235, 280, 288, 326.
Bryaxis, sculptor, 177.
Butcher, S. H., quoted, 18.

Calamis, 26, 31, 161.
Canachus, 26.
Carlyle on portraits, 168.
Catagrapha, 182 seq.
Children in Greek art, 134.
Chios, School of, 114.
Chiton, The, 150 seq.
Choisy, M., 45.
Chorus scheme in vase-painting, 248, 288.
Chryselephantine statues, 111.
Chrysippus, 21.
Cicero, 27, 62, 188.
Cimon of Cleonae, 182 seq., 210.
Cire perdue process, 113.
Clearchus of Rhegium, 111.
Cleiton the sculptor, 15.
Cleopatra, 178.
Cnidus, Lion of, 55; Treasury of, at Delphi, 126, 150; battle of, 330.
Coins in relation to history, 324–333.
Colour in Greek sculpture, 130 seq. in painting, 203, 205.
Contamination, 255.
Continuous narration in vase-painting, 260 seq.
Corinthian style, 45.
Corneto, Remains from, 201, 204.
Cosmetae, Portraits of, 167 seq.

Cresilas, sculptor, 170, 173.
Crimea, Painting from, 204.
Cypria, 298 seq., 307.
Cypselus, Chest of, 29, 111, 234, 244.

Damarete and Damareteia, 328 seq.
Damophon, 94.
Dancing in relation to art, 19.
Dannecker quoted, 18, 347.
Decorative art, 114 seq.
Demeter, 94, 177.
Demetrius, sculptor, 173.
Demosthenes, 165, 179, 337.
Dickens — "typical," 25.
Dion, 329.
Dionysius II of Syracuse, 329.
Dipylon, 61 seq.
Discobolus, 22, 104.
Dorian art, 23, 43, 45, 111, 114, 117, 139; dress, 149 seq., 161, 337.
Dörpfeld, W., 4, 5.
Doryphorus, The, 21, 23, 135, 140.
Dress, Greek, 147–164.
Duris, vase-painter, 300.

Egypt, Art of, 17, 55 seq., 73, 113, 343.
Elgin, Lord, 9.
Elpinice as type, 172.
Entasis, 39, 106.
Ephesus, Temple of Artemis at, 44; coins of, 330.
Epiblema, 152.
Epic, The, in relation to art, 236 seq.
Epictetus, vase-painter, 186, 231.
Erechtheum, 41.
Ethos, 23, 171.
Euphranor, 26, 31, 311.
Euphronios, vase-painter, 186, 194, 197, 215, 218, 234, 255, 300.
Eupompus, painter, 344.
Euripides, 25, 165, 172 seq., 199, 218, 249, 267, 285 seq., 303.
Evans, Sir A., 4, 5, 73, 286, 328, 331.
Eye, The, in Greek sculpture, 141 seq.

Fortresses, Greek, 52.
Frazer, J. G., 28, 333.
Frieze, 44, 125 seq.
Frontality in Greek art, 98–109, 135.
Furtwängler, A., 99, 123, 142, 202, 218.

Galen, 21.
Gardner, Ernest A., 39, 100, 113, 114.
Gelo of Syracuse, 328.
Generic idealism, 346.
Geometric designs on pottery, 212 seq.
Goodyear, W. H., 48 seq.
Guillaume, E., 21 seq.

Hadrian, Villa of, 10.
Hair in Greek sculpture, 142 seq.
Harmodius, Statue of, 169, 287.
Harpy tomb, 150, 160.
Harrison, J. E., 211.
Haydon, 347.
Head and face in Greek art, 139.
Head, B. V., 328 seq.
Helbig, W., 206, 296.
Heracles on federal coins, 330.
Herculaneum, Portraits in, 168.
Hero-worship, 54 seq., 96.
Herodotus, 152, 172, 317, 320, 337.
Hieron, vase-painter, 186, 225, 248, 252, 270 seq., 301.
Hill, G. F., 263, 328.
History, Art in relation to, 310–323.
Homer, 242 seq., 266 seq., 298, 337.
Horror vacui, 223.
House, The Greek, 53.
Huddilston, J. H., 291.
Humanism in Greek art, 336 seq.
Hydria, The, 219, 253.

Ibycus, 198.
Idealism in Greek art, 336 seq., and passim.
Inscriptions as sources for Greek art, 8; on vases (Thasian), 197.
Ionian art, 23, 45, 114, 117; dress, 148 seq., 161, 337.
Isocephalism, 129 seq.
Isocrates on Judgment of Paris, 304.

Jahn, O., 242, 269, 284.
Jones, H. Stuart, 29, 110.

Kamareis pottery, 212.
Klein, W., 215, 265.
Klügmann, A., 191.
Kolpos, The, 155, 158.
Krater, The, 219.
Kylix, The, 219, 220.

Lamprika, Relief from, 144 seq.
Lange, J., 99, 136, 203, 206.
Laocoon, 180.
Lau, T., 222.
Lekythos, The, 120.
Leochares, sculptor, 176, 177.

Lessing's *Laocoon*, 263.
Locality indicated in art, 258 seq.
Loewy, E., 99, 102, 104 seq., 137, 142, 198, 225.
Lucian, his works on art, 30 seq., 173.
Lyric poetry in relation to art, 284 seq.
Lysicrates, monument of, 127, 146, 164, 285.
Lysippus, 94, 138, 176, 336, 344.

MacColl, N., 211.
Mach, E. von, 107.
Marble and stone, Sculpture in, 113 seq.
Mausoleum, 127, 146, 149, 157, 159, 163, 177.
Megara, 122.
Melos, Terra-cottas from, 227.
Messenger scheme on vases, 249, 288.
Metopes, 43–47, 124 seq.
Micon, painter, 186 seq., 310.
Minoan civilization, 4 seq.; see Mycenaean.
Mouth, The, in Greek art, 142.
Murray, A. S., 106.
Mycenaean art, 4, 5, 46, 56, 72 seq., 91, 93, 99, 111, 113, 148, 183, 211 seq., 343.
Myron, 22, 27, 161.

Naturalism, 336 seq.
Newton, Sir Chas., 177.
Nicias, Athenian painter, 132.
Nike of Delos, 103 seq.
"Nolan" vases, 229, 233.
Numismatics, see Coins.

Oenochoe, The, 219.
Olympia, 28, 29, 91, 118 seq., 122, 130, 161, 259.
Olympian deities, 60, 85 seq.
Oriental religious art compared with Greek, 90.
Origins, Study of, in relation to the history of art, 4.
Orvieto vase, 189 seq., 258.
Overbeck on the types of the Gods, 95; on Mausoleum, 127.

Pagasae, Slabs from, 210.
Painting, Greek, 31, 98, 116, 181–210.
Paris, Statue of, in Vatican, 149; myth of, 297 seq.
Parrhasius the painter, 13 seq., 207, 210.
Parthenon, 36, 40, 42, 115, 118, 123 seq., 125, 127, 129, 141, 145, 155, 159, 161, 313 seq., 346 seq.
Pasiteles, 26.
Pathos, 23 seq., 171.
Pausanias (the traveller) 11, 24, 28, 111, 117, 118, 124, 186, 188, 206, 244.
Pediments, 117 seq.
Penrose, F. C., 39.
Pericles, Portrait of, 170; ideas of, 319.
Perspective in Greek painting, 187 seq., 235 seq., 307.
Phidias, 24, 29, 98, 180, 193, 200, 259, 318.
Phigaleia, Frieze from, 164.
Plato on art, 16 seq., 203, 267, 308, 343.
Pliny, 26 seq., 182.
Plutarch, influence, 168, 180, 339; on Alexander, 172.
Polycleitus, 21, 23, 26, 27, 29, 135.
Polyeuctus, sculptor, 178.
Polygnotus, 23, 27, 29, 182 seq., 189, 197 seq., 210, 250, 258.
Pompeii, 53, 98, 181, 205 seq., 259, 280, 293 seq., 308.
Portraits, Greek, 165–180, 210, 293, 326.
Pottier, E., 211, 218.
Poulsen, F., 5.
Praxiteles, 10, 24, 30, 94, 124, 132, 135, 137, 140, 163, 286.
Preraphaelite art, 341, 244.
Protogenes, painter, 135.
Pythagoras, sculptor, 332.
Pyxis, The, 220.

Quintilian, 24, 27.

Red-figured vases, severe, 215 seq.; free, 216 seq.; late, 218; *genre*, 261.
Religion in relation to art, 76, 83 seq.
Rhodes, Vase from, 233; coins of, 330.
Rhoecus of Samos, 112.
Rhythm, 22 seq., 127.
Robert, Karl, 187, 245, 256, 263, 269, 272 seq., 284, 288.
Rome adopts Athena type, 88.
Ruvo, Vase of, 294.

Samos, Coins of, 330.
Sappho, 177.
Sarapis, 94.
Scopas, 24, 140, 177, 286.
Schliemann, H., 4, 72 seq.

Selinus, Metopes from, 102 seq., 285.
Sidon, Sarcophagi from, 127, 129, 131, 163, 177, 311.
Socrates, views on art and life, 13 seq., 338.
Sophocles, 25, 172, 175, 302.
Space, Relations of art to, 115 seq.
Sparta, Hero-worship in, 54 seq.
Sphyrelaton, technique, 111.
Stephani, L., 253, 308.
Stesichorus, poetical innovator, 284 seq.
Strangford Apollo, The, 138.
Symmetry, 21 seq., 226 seq., 313.
Symonds, J. A., 336 seq., 347.
Syracuse, Coinage of, 328 seq.

Tanagra, Statuettes of, 133, 163.
Tarentum, Vases of, 250, 253, 288, 321; coins of, 331.
Temple, The Greek, 33–50, 117 seq.
Tenea, The Apollo of, 138.
Theatre, the Greek, Architecture of, 52.
Thebes, Coin-type of, 331.
Theodorus of Samos, 112.
Thucydides on dress, 150; his portraits, 172; his humanism, 337.
Timotheus, sculptor, 177.
Tomb, The Greek, 53–71, 127.
Treu, G., 118, 132.
Triptolemus, Myth of, on vases, 251 seq.
Trysa in Lycia, Tomb at, 127, 193, 198.

Varro, 26.
Vinci, Lionardo da, 20 seq.
Vitruvius, 45.
Vogel, J., 290.

Walters, H. B., 211.
Welcker, F. G., 309.
Wickhoff, F., 342.
White-ground vases, 217 seq.

Xanthus, Nereid Monument of, 310.
Xenocrates, 26.
Xenophon, *Memorabilia Socratis*, 13 seq.

Zacynthus, Coins struck at, 329, 331.
Zeus, Statues of, 88, 112, 176; on coins, 332, 333.
Zeuxis, 27, 181 seq., 203, 210.

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